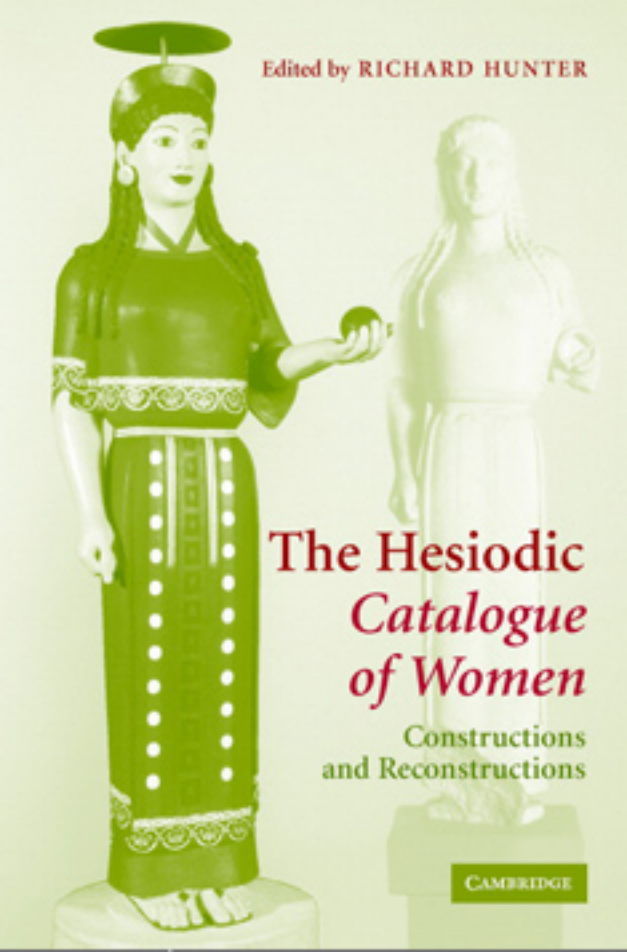
Edited by RICHARD HUNTER



The Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*

Constructions and Reconstructions

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THE HESIODIC *CATALOGUE OF WOMEN*

The Catalogue of Women, ascribed to Hesiod, one of the greatest figures of early hexameter poetry, maps the Greek world, its evolution, and its heroic myths through the mortal women who bore children to the gods. In this collection a team of international scholars offers the first attempt to explore the poem's meaning, significance, and reception. Individual chapters examine the organisation and structure of the poem, its social and political context, its relation to other early epic and Hesiodic poetry, its place in the development of a panhellenic consciousness, and attitudes to women. The wider influence of the *Catalogue* is considered in chapters on Pindar and the lyric tradition, on Hellenistic poetry, and on the poem's reception at Rome. This collection provides a significant new approach to the study of the *Catalogue*.

RICHARD HUNTER is Regius Professor of Greek at the University of Cambridge. He has published extensively on Greek literature and his previous titles include *Theocritus: Encomium of Ptolemy Philadelphus* (2003), *Plato's Symposium* (2004), and (with Marco Fantuzzi) *Tradition and Innovation in Hellenistic Poetry* (2004).

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Abbreviations

Standard abbreviations for collections and editions of texts and for works of reference are used; the fragments of Hesiod are cited by the numeration of Merkelbach–West 1967, as corrected and augmented by Merkelbach–West 1990. The following may also be noted:

EGF	M. Davies, *Epicorum Graecorum fragmenta* (Göttingen 1988)
FGrHist	F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* (Berlin 1923–30; Leiden 1940–58 and 1994–)
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae* (Berlin 1873–)
LfgrE	*Lexikon des frühgriechischen Epos* (Göttingen 1955–)
LIMC	*Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae* (Zurich/Munich 1981–97)
LSJ	H. G. Liddell, R. Scott, H. Stuart Jones, R. McKenzie, P. G. W. Glare, *Greek–English Lexicon, with a revised Supplement* (9th ed., Oxford 1996)
PEG	A. Bernabé, *Poetarum epicorum Graecorum testimonia et fragmenta* I (Leipzig 1987)
PMG	D. L. Page, *Poetae melici Graeci* (Oxford 1962)
PMGF	M. Davies, *Poetarum melicorum Graecorum fragmenta* I (Oxford 1991)
RE	A. Pauly, G. Wissowa, W. Kroll, et al. (eds.), *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (Stuttgart/Munich 1893–1980)
SH	H. Lloyd-Jones, P. Parsons, *Supplementum Hellenisticum* (Berlin/New York 1983)

All dates are BC, unless otherwise indicated. The spelling of Greek names is a familiar slough of despond and inconsistency; the Editor does not imagine that he has escaped its perils.

Introduction

The *Catalogue of Women* ascribed to Hesiod is one of those (many) ancient poems where enough survives to intrigue and to allow the formulation of very interesting questions, but not enough to answer any more than a few of them. The essays in this book reveal the pleasure and the frustration in almost equal measure. Unanimity is not to be expected.

The *Catalogue* was a poem of ambitious scope and length (Hellenistic scholars divided it into five books) which constructed a map of the Hellenic world in genealogical terms; the organising principle within the great families was the offspring of mortal women and gods, and some of these women were introduced by the ἢ' οἵη 'or such as' formula which gave the poem its other title, Ἠοῖαι. The *Catalogue* was clearly thought of as a continuation of the *Theogony* (the final part of which has suffered in transmission and contains some relatively late material), and appears to have been transmitted as part of this latter poem until they were separated, perhaps through a mixture of scholarly acumen and the demands of the book trade; the identification of the *Catalogue* as a separate poem seems to have occurred at least by the high period of Alexandrian scholarship, although *Theogony* and *Catalogue* may have continued to be treated as parts of a single work in some texts.[1] That the *Catalogue* never (as far as we know) possessed or acquired an elaborate hymnic and 'personal' proem in the manner of the *Theogony* and the *Works and Days* is a further sign of its secondary status, though the parallels between the account of the past in the opening invocation and the extraordinary sequel to the wooing of Helen towards the end (fr. 204.95ff.) provide a framing coherence.[2] Behind our *Catalogue*, and perhaps partly incorporated into it, is generally assumed to be 'genuine' Hesiodic poetry, which did indeed move on from the origin of the gods in the *Theogony* to the origin of the heroes, and of which traces remain in the final sections of the *Theogony*.

[1] Cf. Meliadò 2003. [2] Cf. e.g. Clay (this volume).

The very broad structure of the *Catalogue* has now been clarified on the basis of the papyrus finds of the last century and their analysis in Martin West's landmark book on the poem, which is the single most important modern contribution to its elucidation.[3] Book 1 and some of Book 2 were taken up with the descendants of Deucalion, which included the crucial families of Hellen and Aeolus; the descendants of Inachus occupied the rest of Book 2 and probably part of Book 3, which also dealt with the families of Pelasgos and Arkas; Book 4 seems to have been more varied – the daughters of Asopus, figures from the history of Attica, and the descendants of Pelops (including Alcmene and her son, Heracles);[4] Book 5 contained the relatively well preserved episode of the wooing of Helen, followed by the Trojan War and the end of the age of heroes. Within this overarching structure, particular interest has naturally focused upon the ἢ οἵη 'or such as' formula, for – despite the notoriety it later acquired – it is certainly not used for each new and fertile female who appears. One might have expected such a formula to introduce exempla (e.g. of women who slept with gods) or stories to illustrate general truths, but this is clearly inappropriate for the systematic genealogy of the *Catalogue*, in which the meaning of the formula is in fact very hard to fix. It may perhaps have been used to mark a move to a woman who did not follow directly (in genealogical terms) from her predecessor in the poem (and as such would come to be seen as marking 'major' transitions),[5] but an increasing number of scholars have seen in it a practice of or survival from a different (and less complex) type of catalogue-poetry, inherited by the *Catalogue*-poet and incorporated into his new conception.[6]

The origins and date of the final version of the *Catalogue* (i.e. the poem from which our fragments are taken) remain the subject of very great dispute, as the essays in this book attest. Although Richard Janko has argued on linguistic grounds that the date cannot be much later than that of Hesiod himself,[7] most students of the poem would (for a mixture of different reasons) now date its most complete form to the sixth century.[8] West himself favoured a date late in the century and an Attic identity for the poet,[9] though others have looked further north – to Thessaly and central

[3] West 1985a. For a recent survey, cf. Hirschberger 2004: 32–41; this commentary on the extant fragments appeared too late for contributors to this volume to take proper account of it.
[4] Cf. Haubold (this volume). [5] Cf. e.g. West 1985a: 46–50; Rutherford 2000: 83–5.
[6] Cf. e.g. West 1985a: 167; Rutherford 2000. [7] Cf. Janko 1982: 86–7, 198.
[8] The sixth-century date (and West's arguments) are, however, rejected by Dräger 1997. For a survey and bibliography of the relevant arguments cf. Hirschberger 2004: 42–51.
[9] West 1985a: 168–71.

Greece – and been inclined to a rather earlier date.[10] What is becoming increasingly clear, however, is that the *Catalogue*, at each stage of its development, had specific social and political contexts; this poem is one more illustration of the banal truth that social groups explain the present through stories about the past. In this case, the key fact about the present is identity: 'ethnic genealogies were the instrument by which whole social collectives could situate themselves in space and time, reaffirming their identity by appeals to eponymous ancestors such as Doros, Ion or Dryops, who were at the same time the retrojected constructions of such identity'.[11] The map which genealogy offers[12] is thus to be set alongside the other kinds of map to be found in early epic. As the *Odyssey* lays out a hierarchy of cultures and modes of behaviour and the *Iliad* preserves a memory of the heroic past, which can serve political and moral claims in the present, so the huge sweep of the *Catalogue* establishes a constantly repeated pattern of marriage and reproduction in the past with crucial consequences in the present: we the audience thus become part of an imagined élite community; the passing of the 'Age of Heroes' and the separation of gods from men in Book 5[13] may reveal the full implications of the τότε 'at that time' of the proem (fr. 1.6), but genealogy offers in fact a more hopeful contact with the past than does the 'Myth of the Races' in the *Works and Days*. Whether or not we wish to see that myth as 'cyclical' (cf. esp. vv. 174–5, 'Would that I did not live among men of the fifth generation, but had either died beforehand or lived after'), each race passes for ever from the earth, and in the current circumstances our best hope of approaching the happiness of the past comes through the practice of justice. Genealogy, however, continues: the audience for the *Catalogue* claimed familial and ethnic descent from the characters of the *Catalogue*. There is thus a creative tension within such poetry between, on the one hand, the teleological push – made explicit in the dramatic events of Book 5 – which drives us and the poem towards the present day, and the systematic manner in which families are played out to the end,[14] and, on the other, the vast (apparently boundless) sea of story in which the poet can splash around and play and linger (or not) as he chooses.[15]

[10] Fowler 1998 argues for an association of the *Catalogue* with the Thessalian Amphictyony in the period after its success in the First Sacred War (cf. 580).

[11] Hall 1997: 41. [12] Cf. Fowler 1998: 1. [13] Cf. Cingano, Clay (this volume).

[14] Cf. West 1985a: 38–9. West notes that 'there is no sign of capricious transitions from one story to another', but this leaves a great deal of room for the exercise of poetic design or the deliberate appearance of lack of design.

[15] Cf. Rutherford 2000: 93.

The traditional nature of the verse form means, of course, that different contexts from different periods are at every stage incorporated, reused, and reshaped, but that does not mean that 'early' passages and genealogies are simply 'historical relics' to which newer, more 'political' passages are added. If group identity is truly discursive,[16] then our analysis of genealogical myth into chronological layers will have historical and archaeological interest, but will be of only limited value in explaining what the genealogies meant to those who told and heard them at any particular time. There will, of course, always be room for argument about just *how* specific the context(s) for our *Catalogue* were – the essays of (e.g.) Irwin, Osborne, and Rutherford in this volume show three of the routes which could be taken – and it would be naive to imagine that there was not also a large measure of non-specifically functional pleasure to be had from listening to stories and lists of names. Both archaic (e.g. *Iliad* 7.127–8) and Hellenistic (e.g. Apollonius, *Arg.* 2.762–72) epic indeed dramatise this pleasure.

[16] Cf. Hall 1997: 41–2.

CHAPTER 1

Ordering women in Hesiod's Catalogue

Robin Osborne

All that we possess of Hesiod's *Catalogue of Women* is shreds and tatters. The vast majority of what survives does so on papyri where there are barely two consecutive lines which can be read without resorting to some sort of restoration. The small proportion of surviving fragments which derive from ancient quotation give, at best, just half a dozen consecutive lines. Only the fifty-six lines of fr. 195 which are identical with the opening of the *Shield of Heracles* provide a substantial and entirely secure consecutive section. Not surprisingly, working out the order in which the preserved fragments appeared in the original poem, assuming indeed that there was 'an original poem', has been neither easy nor uncontentious. The order championed by Merkelbach and West has become orthodox, and will be assumed here. It makes good sense of the surviving evidence, although it leaves some forty fragments unaccounted for, and seems unlikely to be seriously wrong in its basic structure, even if new discoveries have caused some revisions of details and more such revisions are highly likely.[1]

In the light of all of that, it might seem that the best that we can do is to examine particular episodes, as do some other contributors to this volume. In this paper, however, I shall make an attempt at understanding the poem as a whole. I shall first argue that the manner in which the fragments have come down to us gives grounds for reasonable confidence that what survives is typical of what is lost. I shall then try to show that what survives is sufficiently distinct from other comparable early catalogue-poetry to suggest that Hesiod's *Catalogue of Women* had a distinct 'plot'. In concluding, I will suggest that the 'plot' of the *Catalogue* is confirmed by the parodic reading of the poem afforded by our longest surviving early non-hexameter poem. In reading the *Catalogue*, I pay particular attention to order, perversely, as it might be thought, given the poem's surviving

[1] Cf. West 1985a: Chapter 2 for a history of the study of the poem; esp. 35 for the basis of the current arrangement.

condition. I shall argue that Hesiod's *Catalogue of Women* raises a range of issues to do with women and order. Consideration of the order in which the women appear, and its consequences, leads to issues about their relationship to order, and in their relationship to orders. The ambiguity of English 'order' is paralleled, though not reproduced, by the Greek *taxis* and its cognates, and I take this as some justification for approaching in this way a poem to whose very conception taxonomy is basic.

IS THERE A POEM TO READ?

Although what we have of the *Catalogue of Women* is shreds and tatters, the total number of lines and parts of lines that is preserved is large, some 1,300. The quantity is large both because of the number of surviving fragments (fifty separate significant papyrus fragments, besides quotations and other references) and because of the size of some of the papyrus fragments, which include large chunks of papyrus on which parts of anything up to one hundred or so consecutive lines are found (frr. 10a, 204). The *Suda s.v.* Ἡσίοδος records that the *Catalogue of Women* consisted of five books. West has speculated that Book 1 was closer to 900 than to 800 lines in length, while entertaining the possibility that it might be longer still. All books are unlikely to have been of the same length, but the total length of the work is unlikely to have been substantially less than, or substantially more than, 4,000 lines. What survives is therefore likely to amount to between a third and a quarter of the original poem.

The surviving lines are quite well distributed over the poem as a whole. Indications of book of origin that are likely to be accurate attach to seven fragments and refer to Books 1, 3 and 4. Fragments 196–204 certainly derive from the beginning of Book 5, and other fragments can very plausibly be ascribed to Book 2. There is little doubt, therefore, that all five books are represented in what survives, and although the distribution of papyrus fragments across the books is by no means even, there is no reason to believe that only parts of the poem were copied and read in antiquity, or that any part of the poem is in principle less likely to be represented than any other.

Against this, some thirty-four of the papyrus fragments derive from just eight papyri, each of which yields more than one fragment. West has noted that the general tendency of fragments of the same papyrus to come from parts of a poem that were closely proximate in the original is borne out by these papyri, which mainly yield fragments belonging to a

single genealogy.[2] The consequence of this is that the papyrus fragments cluster. This significantly increases the chance that some parts of the poem represented by no fragment were quite long, but it does mean that patterns of expansion within sections of genealogy can be quite closely observed.

To these purely statistical reasons for believing that what is preserved is effectively a random sample of the original poem can be added considerations based on content. At various points in the surviving fragments, one particular figure is singled out for more expansive treatment. With the exception of the special case of Heracles, discussed in this volume by Haubold, where the complicated question of the relationship between this poem and the *Shield of Heracles* comes into play, these more expansive sections do not seem to have been those that get picked up in the literary tradition. Indeed, it is a remarkable fact that the section on the suitors of Helen (cf. Cingano, this volume) survives entirely on papyrus and is never cited by any ancient author. The question therefore arises as to whether other expansive sections have not been lost completely, sections which might significantly affect the way in which the poem as a whole is read. But although this possibility cannot be excluded, it is not easy to find an appropriate candidate for such a treatment. Heracles and Helen are both figures of major mythological moment: there simply was no other son to match Heracles and no wife to match Helen. Of the daughters, mothers and sons who attracted the notice of Athenian tragedians, Jocasta and Oedipus are treated rather cursorily in fr. 193, Clytemnestra with similar laconic understatement in fr. 23. The same is true of Danae and Perseus in fr. 129. Theseus and Medea make no appearance in the surviving *Catalogue*, but extended treatment of either in a poem not usually regarded as later than the middle of the sixth century would be surprising. Of those who do receive somewhat expansive treatment, both Phineus and Mestra (fr. 43)[3] also attracted Hellenistic authors, while Telephus attracted classical sculptors as well as Euripides. Atalanta's race does not come in for such extensive literary coverage in surviving literature, but Atalanta and Melanion appear together on vases from the early sixth century. The absence of obvious candidates for lengthy treatment, the fact that all the more extensive treatments are of figures who are in one way or another flagged up in other archaic or later literary or artistic productions, and the observation made by West that expansive passages tend to occur at the end of lineages (so Phineus, Atalanta, Telephus, Helen and quite probably Mestra) all make it rather

[2] West 1985a: 36, 41. [3] Cf. Rutherford (this volume).

unlikely that there were major developments within the poem which have left no trace in the material which we now have.

If it is reasonable to have some confidence that we know the basic structure of the poem, and that enough survives to make it unlikely that what was said in the lost part of the poem was significantly different from what is said in the extant portion, then it must be reasonable to look at the poem as a whole and at the themes which emerge from a sequential reading. Such a reading certainly cannot be definitive, but its foundations, although capable of being rocked, are neither insignificant nor fragile.

THE PRIMACY OF PANDORA

West has shown how the poet of the *Catalogue* was steeped in Hesiod's poetry.[4] Quite apart from the link between the end of *Theogony* and the opening of the *Catalogue* in terms of overlapping verses, the opening phrase of the *Catalogue*, with its 'tribe of women', links in with the often bracketed line 591 of *Theogony*. This phrase also makes starting with Pandora inevitable: 'from her is the cruel race and tribes of women'. When the *Catalogue* opening goes on (fr. 1.6) to talk of the 'common feasts' that gods and men used to enjoy together, we are transported, though without verbal reminiscence, to pre-Mekone times when gods and men were not yet divided (*Theogony* 536), to the world before Prometheus (compare *Works and Days* 108, bracketed by Solmsen but not by West), and hence to a world 'waiting for Pandora' (the scholia on 108 refer to Prometheus, Pandora and Epimetheus). When Pandora is mentioned in fr. 2, readers of the *Theogony* will therefore expect that this is the figure with whom that poem has made them familiar.

The tradition about what exactly the *Catalogue* said about Deucalion and Pandora is confused, but it is safe to assume that a Pandora at least appeared as Deucalion's daughter, had intercourse with Zeus and became mother of Graikos (fr. 5). Almost certainly she was the first of the 'best women' who mixed with the gods. For West, this Pandora must be Pandora II, since tradition elsewhere makes Deucalion's wife Pyrrha daughter of Epimetheus and Pandora. We can see how the phrase in fr. 5, 'Pandora, a *kore* in the halls of glorious Deucalion' (κούρη δ' ἐν μεγάροισιν

[4] West 1985a: 125–30. Whether this is quite the right way to put it depends upon one's view of the relative dates of the *Catalogue, Theogony*, and *Works and Days*. For the possibility that the *Catalogue* is the oldest of the three, see Janko 1982: 85–7, discussed further in the final section of this paper. If we were to take seriously the possible priority of the *Catalogue*, then the *Theogony* might seem to be playing with an innocent Pandora, rather than the other way round.

ἀγαυοῦ Δευκαλίωνος | Πανδώρη), might distinguish a 'maid Pandora' from a 'matriarch Pandora', but I am not sure that I share West's confidence that the term κούρη necessarily rules out Casanova's view that there was only one Pandora, and that the Pandora from whom Zeus begets Graikos is the (ex-)wife of Epimetheus, lodging with her son-in-law Deucalion.[5] But even if we allow two Pandoras, it is hard to imagine the repetition of the name within the family to be innocent. The *Catalogue* is otherwise fecund in names.

So, what are the implications for making the first mortal woman with whom Zeus lies the woman, or the homonymous granddaughter of the woman, whom he made to fool men? Epimetheus' story emphasises how men are deceived by the external appearance of woman, but is the same to be said of the gods? The double bind stressed in the *Theogony*, though in a passage bracketed by Solmsen (603ff.), that men either marry and put up with the consequences in terms of troublesome children, if not a troublesome wife, or do not marry and so have no posterity to look after them when old, clearly does not apply to the gods – as the prologue's 'not indeed having an equal span of life' (οὐδ' ἄρα ἰσαίωνες, fr. 1.8) stresses. For the gods, the evils consequent upon woman's arrival in the world are not relevant: there can be no deceit as far as they are concerned because the consequences of their sexual relations with mortals are, for them, although productive, completely anodyne. For them, the world of beautiful women has no links with the world of work.

Putting Pandora first has consequences for our whole attitude to the *Catalogue*. It serves to highlight the contrast between the world visited here every time a god beds a mortal woman, and the world of men: the *Catalogue* may be a step down from the *Theogony*, where gods bed goddesses, but it is a step that leaves the gods less, not more, responsible. Bedding a goddess can have disastrous consequences for a god – some sons of goddesses are destined to be greater than their fathers, and mothers may encourage sons to be rebellious – but bedding a mortal woman, as related here, will have none. Both the *Theogony* and the *Works and Days* explore problematic relationships between equals, but when a god beds a mortal woman the relations are unequal, and the inequalities of status and gender map onto one another.

Before moving on, it is worth just pausing to note that it is Zeus that beds Pandora – and who goes on to bed two of her sisters, Thyia (fr. 7), and Protogeneia.[6] The prologue has catalogued the gods whose seeding of kings

[5] West 1985a: 52 n. 38. [6] West 1985a: 52.

it will record, and has begun that catalogue with Zeus. So Zeus' unchallenged role as seducer of the daughters of Deucalion follows the order that the prologue gives. Poseidon, the next to be listed in the prologue, appears with the great-granddaughters of Deucalion, the daughters of Aeolus, bedding both Canace and her granddaughter Iphimedeia. The declared hierarchy of the prologue is not challenged by the order of exposition in the *Catalogue*, at least as far as our evidence goes. By contrast to the *Theogony*, and indeed to the *Works and Days*, this is not a poem in which authority is challenged. But we should also note that in the *Theogony* Hephaestus, in obedience to Zeus' orders, makes Pandora χαριζόμενος Διὶ πατρί 'giving pleasure to father Zeus' (580): in the *Catalogue* we find Zeus not just taking pleasure in the existence of the woman who will trick Epimetheus, but taking pleasure in the woman herself, himself succumbing to the beauty he has had created.

ORDERLY WOMEN

Pandora appears simply as 'a maid in the halls of glorious Deucalion' (fr. 5): her appearance is not described – the reader of the *Theogony* knows more than enough about it already. From Creousa onwards, however, in the extant fragments, it becomes regular for the women when mentioned also to be described. Creousa herself is a 'fair-cheeked maiden with lovely form' (Κ[ρείουσαν ἐπή]ρατον εἶδος ἔχ[ουσαν] | [κούρ]ην καλλ[ιπάρηον, fr. 10a.20–1). Perimede in the next generation is 'of fair appearance' (ε]ὐειδέ[α] Πε̣ρ̣ιμήδην fr. 10a.34).

As we go through the poem, it is repeatedly for their fair or lovely appearance, and especially their hair and ankles, that the successive generations of women who attract the sexual attentions of gods or men are praised – so with the wife of Hippodamas 'having a very lovely appearance' (ὅ γ' Ἱπ̣[ποδάμας πολυή]ρ̣[α]τ̣ον εἶδος ἔχουσαν | ἠγάγε̣τ̣ . . . , fr. 10a.45), with Calyce ('he made Calyce of fair appearance his fertile wife', ε̣[ὐειδέα Καλύκην θα]λ̣ερὴν ποιήσατ' ἄκοιτιν, fr. 10a.59), with Polycaste 'of the fair tresses' (εὐ]π̣λ̣όκαμ̣ος Πολυκάσ̣τη, fr. 10a.66), with the women whose names do not survive in fr. 17a.3, who are 'fair-cheeked' (κ̣α̣λ̣λιπά[ρ]η̣ον) and possessed of 'very lovely appearance' (πολυήρατον εἶδος ἔχουσ[αν]), the much-wooed Demodike ('Demodike, whom most men on earth wooed, and strong kings promised many famous gifts, for the sake of her appearance that was beyond description', [Δημοδίκη,] τὴν πλεῖστοι ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων | μνήστευον, καὶ πολλὰ [περ]ικλυτὰ δῶρ' ὀνόμηναν | ἴφθιμοι βασιλῆες, ἀπειρέσιον [μ]ετὰ εἶδος, fr. 22.5–7), the goddess-like Leda,

'fair-tressed like the rays of the moon' (Λήδη ε[ὐπλόκαμος ἰκέλη φαέεσσ]ι σελήνης, fr. 23a.8), wife to Tyndareus, Clytemnestra 'dark-eyed daughter of Tyndareus' (κού[ρην Τυνδαρέοιο Κλυταιμήσ]τρην κυανῶπ[ιν], fr. 23a.13), Hebe 'of the beautiful ankles', wife to Heracles (καλλ[ίσ]φυρον Ἥβην, fr. 25.28), Tyro, for whom Poseidon falls, ('when she came to the perfection of her very lovely adolescence, Poseidon the Earthshaker was smitten with her, a god with love for a mortal, because she excelled all women in appearance', ἐπεί] ῥ' ἥβης πολυηράτου ἐς τέλος ἦλθεν | [. . . . . τῆ]ς γ' ἐράεσκε Ποσειδάων ἐνοσίχθων | [. . . . . .] φιλότητι θεὸς βροτῶι, οὕνεκ' ἄρ' εἶδος | [πασάων προὔχεσκε γυναι]κῶν, fr. 30.31–4 cf. 25), Anaxibie ([Ἀναξιβίη ῥοδό]πηχυς, fr. 35.14 'with rosy-forearms'?), Pero, 'fair of hair' (Πηρώ δ' [ἠ]ΰκομος, fr. 37.8), Mestra, 'fair-tressed, possessed of the charms of the Charites', 'a fair-cheeked maid with flashing eyes', 'a maid with delicate ankles' (Μήστρη ἐυπλόκαμος, Χαρίτων ἀ]μαρύγματ' ἔχουσα, fr. 43a.4, cf. [κού]ρην ἑλικώπιδα κ[αλλ]ιπάρηον, 19, τανισφύρο[υ εἵ]νεκα [κούρης], 37),[7] Eurynome 'daughter of Pandionides, whom Pallas Athena taught skills . . . ; she had intelligence equal to that of the goddesses, and from her flesh and shining garments . . . and manifested a gracious appearance (θυγάτηρ Πανδιονίδαο | [– – – – – ἣ]ν ἔργα διδάξατο Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη | [– – – – – –]εουσα, νόεσκε γὰρ ἶσα θεήισι | [τῆς καὶ ἀπὸ χρ]οϊῆς ἠδ' εἵματος ἀργυφέοιο | [– – – – –]θεου χαρίεν τ' ἀπὸ εἶδος ἄητο fr. 43a.70–2), Atalanta, 'who had the charms of the Charites', 'a delicate-ankled maiden', with 'soft breasts', 'a maiden with flashing eyes' (Χαρί]των ἀμαρύγματ' ἔχο[υσα, fr. 73.3, τανι̣σφύ̣[ρ]ο̣υ̣ εἵνεκα κού[ρης] 73.6, τ[ανίσφυρ[ο]ς ὤρ̣υ̣το κούρη, 75.6, πε]ρὶ στήθεσσ' ἁπαλοῖσι, 75.10, ἐμὴν ἑλικώπιδα κούρην 75.15), Aglaie (?) 'who rivalled the Olympian goddesses in appearance' ([ἣ εἶδος Ὀλυ]μπιάδεσσιν ἔριζεν, fr. 129.5), Eurydice 'with fair cheeks, fitting well her husband's desire' (καλλι]πάρηον ἐὺ παρ̣αί̣[δεσσ'] ἀρα[ρυῖα]ν, fr. 129.13[8]), Danae 'with fair ankles' (Δανά]ην κ̣[α]λλίσφυρο[ν, fr. 129.14), Stheneboia 'with beautiful tresses' (καλ[λι]πλόκαμου Σ[θ]ενέβοι[αν], fr. 129.18), Europa 'with delicate ankles', 'a bride with handsome hair' (τανισφύρωι Εὐρωπείηι, | [– – – – –]πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε | [– – – – – νύ]μφης πάρα καλλικόμοιο, fr. 141.8–10), Diomede 'fair-tressed and possessed of beauty' (κάλλος ἔ[χουσαν] | [– – – – – ἐυπλ]όκαμον

[7] Although ἀμαρύσσω and ἀμαρυγαί are found in the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*, and ἀμαρύσσω in the *Theogony* (827, where West 1966: 386 declares it 'un-Homeric'), ἀμάρυγμα is not an epic word, and is not found in *Works and Days* or *Theogony*. It is found repeatedly in the *Catalogue* (frr. 70.38, 73.3, 185.20, 196.6), and occurs also in Sappho.

[8] For the phrase, compare *Theogony* 608.

Δ[ιομ]ήδ[ην·], fr. 171.5), the daughters of Cadmus 'trailing their garments, before whose form [some uncertain female] stood amazed' (Καδμηΐδες ἑλκεσ́ίπε̣[πλοι] | [– – – ἐτέ]θῃπε δέμας εἰσάντα ἰδοῦ̃[σα], fr. 193.2–3), [Lysidike] the 'very beautiful maiden, daughter of Pelops' (Λυσιδίκην] Πέλοπος περικαλλέα [κούρην], fr. 193.11), Aerope 'with beautiful ankles' (καλ[λίσφυ]ρον Ἠερόπ[ειαν, fr. 195.2–3), Alcmene 'fair-ankled/delicate-ankled daughter of Electryon' (ἐυσφύρου Ἠλεκτρυώνης, fr. 195 = *Aspis* 16, τανισφύρου Ἠλεκτρυώνης, fr. 195 = *Aspis* 35), Helen 'who had the form of golden Aphrodite', 'who possessed the charms of the Charites', whose suitors offered gifts 'because of the delicate-ankled maid, to be the husband of Helen fair of hair', 'a maiden with a fair arm' ([ἣ εἶ]δος ἔχε χρυσῆς Ἀφ[ροδί]της· | [– –]ν Χαρίτων ἀμαρ[ύγμ]ατ᾽ ἔχουσαν, fr. 196.5–6, τανισφύρου εἵνεκα κούρης, Ἑλένης πόσις ἔμμεναι ἠυκόμοιο 198.4, 199.2, 200.2, 204.43, 55, κούρης εὐ[ω]λ[ένο]υ, 204.81), 'fair Cyrene, who dwelt by the waters of the Peneios, possessed of beauty from the Charites' (Χαρίτων ἄπο κάλλος ἔχουσα | Πηνειοῦ παρ᾽ ὕδωρ καλὴ ναίεσκε Κυρήνη, fr. 215.1–2).[9] Occasionally, the beauty belongs not to the woman herself but to what she wears, in particular her *zone* ('Stratonice with the fair girdle', [ἐύζωνον] Στ[ρ]α̣[τ]ονί̣κ̣ην, fr. 26.23, 'Stratonice with the beautiful girdle', καλλίζωνος Στρατονίκη, 27, 'Chloris of the fair girdle' [Χλῶριν ἐ]ύζωνον, 33a7, 'Polycaste of the fair girdle' ἐύζωνος Πολυκάστη, fr. 221.1 of Nestor's daughter, 'a fair-girdled woman' ἐυζώνοιο γυναικός, *Aspis* 30–1 of Alcmene).

In being described in this way, the wives are not distinguished from the children, who are also regularly described as of fair appearance: so we read of the children of Ainarete and Aeolus, 'maidens fair of hair possessed of very lovely appearance' (ἠϋκόμους κούρας πολυήρ]ατον ε̣ἶδος ἐχούσας, fr. 10a.32), or Phylonoe, daughter of Leda, 'who rivalled the immortals in appearance' (Φυλο̣[νόην θ᾽ ἣ εἶδος ἐρήριστ᾽ ἀθαν]άτηισι, fr. 23a.10), or Iphimede 'of the beautiful ankles' and Electra 'who rivalled the immortals in appearance', daughters of Agamemnon and Clytemnestra (ἣ τ̣[έκεν Ἰφιμέδην καλλίσφυ]ρον ἐν μεγάρο[ισιν | Ἠλεκτρην θ᾽ ἣ εἶδος ἐρήριστ᾽ ἀ[θανά]τηισιν, fr. 23a.15–16), or Gorge 'fair of hair' (Γόργην τ᾽ ἠύκομον, fr. 25.17) or Iphianeira, daughter of Hypermestra, 'possessed of a very lovely appearance' (Ἰφιάνειραν ἐπήρατον εἶδος ἔχουσα[ν], fr. 25.39), or the daughters of Porthaon, 'who rejoiced in appearance and (?) ignorance' (αἵ ῥα τότ᾽ ε̣[ἴ]δει ἀγαλ[λόμεναι καὶ ἀϊδ]ρείησιν), fr. 26.18) or Peisidice, 'who rivalled the immortals in appearance' ([Πεισιδίκη θ᾽ ἥ εἶδος ἐρήριστ᾽

[9] Cf. Leipephile in the *Megalai Ehoiai* (fr. 252.2).

ἀθανάτηι]σιν, fr. 35.12 cf. ξανθή Polycaste, v. 13) or Medousa 'of the fair hair' (ἠύκομόν τε Μ[έδουσαν, fr. 37.21), or the sister of Pandion, 'modest maiden, with flashing eyes and fair cheeks, who rivalled the immortals in appearance' ([κούρην τ' α]ἰδοίην ἐλικώπιδα καλ[λιπάρηον | [– – –] ἣ εἶδος ἐρή[ι]στ' ἀθανάτ[ησι, fr. 180.13–14) or Hermione 'of the beautiful ankles' ('Ερμιόνην καλλίσφυρ[ο]ν, fr. 204.94). This should hardly surprise: in the structure of this poem, today's daughters are tomorrow's wives.

Of qualities other than the physically attractive ascribed to women in the poem, the most common are fertility (marked by the epithet *thaleros*), as at fr. 23a.31, 'Echemos made Timandre his fertile wife' (Τιμάνδρην δ' Ἔχεμος θαλερὴν ποιήσατ' ἄκοιτιν), or at fr. 33a.7 'he made fair-girdled Chloris his fertile wife' ([Χλῶριν ἐ]ύζωνον θαλερὴν ποιήσατ' ἄκ[οιτιν]), or at fr. 190.6 'he made Astydameia his fertile wife' ('Αστυδάμειαν μὲν θαλερὴν] πο̣[ι]ήσατ' ἄκοιτιν), and knowledge of fine workmanship ('three women who were like goddesses, skilled in very beautiful workmanship' τρεῖς ο̣[ἵαί τε θεαί, περικαλλέα ἔργ' εἰδυῖαι, fr. 23a.4 of Leda, Althaia and Hypermestra, 'three women like goddesses, skilled in very beautiful workmanship' τρε̣[ῖς, ο]ἵαί τε θεαί, περικαλλέα [ἔργ' εἰδυῖα]ι, fr. 26.6 of the daughters of Porthaon, 'skilled in very beautiful workmanship' περικ]αλλέα ἔργ' εἰδυίας fr. 129.23 of Lysippe, Iphinoe and Iphianassa). At fr. 197.1–2 we meet women who know blameless deeds and who have golden *phialai* in their hands. Allusion to other qualities is rare and seems to be engendered by their story: Deianeira is described as 'sharp-witted' ἐπίφρονα (fr. 25.17); Mestra may be wily (see below). The fullest description given is that of Alcmene, who has both physical and mental qualities in abundance: 'she surpassed the tribe of women, both in appearance and in stature. No one rivalled her in intelligence of those whom mortal women bore, having been bedded by mortal men. From her face and her dark eyes she exuded charm like the charm of very golden Aphrodite', ἥ ῥα γυναικῶν φῦλον ἑκαίνυτο θηλυτεράων | εἶδεΐ τε μεγέθει τε· νόον γε μὲν οὔ τις ἔριζε | τάων ἃς θνηταὶ θνητοῖς τέκον εὐνηθεῖσαι. | τῆς καὶ ἀπὸ κρῆθεν βλεφάρων τ' ἄπο κυανεάων | τοῖον ἄηθ' οἷόν τε πολυχρύσου Ἀφροδίτης, fr. 195 = *Aspis* 4–8; yet in the poem as we have it, these qualities lead to no particular action, rather they simply make her excessively attractive, to Zeus as well as to mortal men.[10]

The women of the *Catalogue* always, and repeatedly, attract men by their appearance. They attract by their beauty, by their hair, by the glimpse of

[10] The *Megalai Ehoiai* yields a woman who is πυκινόφρων (fr. 253.1) as well as the stress on outstanding bodily beauty (frr. 251a.9, 252.2).

their ankles.[11] If they engage in unwomanly activity, as Atalanta does, other parts of their body may come to male attention. They attract by their clothes. Women's knowledge of handiwork is thought worth bringing to attention almost only as a mark of groups of women. Women's fertility is alluded to, but only as an accompaniment to their appearance. What drives the *Catalogue* along is men's inability to resist an attractive woman. Women appear, and gods and men fall for them, sometimes competitively. That is the basic narrative without which there would be nothing to hold the *Catalogue* together, and that narrative is practically invariable. The fair appearance of the children guarantees that the narrative of sexual attraction and its consequences will go on in the next generation, whether or not the poem explicitly relates it.

This simple plot is particular to the *Catalogue of Women*. It is neither an inevitable feature of catalogues of women that the women should be repeatedly described only in terms of their physical attractions, nor an inevitable feature of genealogies that they should so emphasise this plot line. Comparison with other genealogies and with other catalogues of women reveals well the nature and narrowness of this plot into which the women of the *Catalogue* are fitted.

A comparative genealogy is provided by the *Theogony*. Desire and sexual activity make early and repeated appearances in the *Theogony*, but physical appearance plays little part in the narrative dominating the genealogy of the generations down to Zeus, which reveals a quite different plot. The attractions of the female party are rarely if ever stressed in all the first 885 lines of the poem: 'of Night were born Aither and Day, whom she bore after she had become pregnant having mixed in love with Erebos' (*Theog.* 124–5); later, Night goes on to bear various children, some without lying with anyone (*Theogony* 213). Similarly, Earth bears various children, one of them explicitly without sex (*Theogony* 132), though Okeanos is the product of her 'union in bed' with Ouranos (v. 133), and yet the plot is never one of physical beauty captivating a male. The castration of Ouranos comes after he comes to Earth longing to make love (*Theogony* 177), but still her attractions are unmentioned. There is, of course, some good reason for this: it is far from clear to what extent many of these figures are anthropomorphised at all, and keeping issues of form out of sight allows the narrative to proceed without the reader asking too many questions that the poet has no desire to deal with. So it is that the rules of human reproduction can be breached: male and female powers equally produce children in this account without partners

[11] On the division of women in pursuit of the beautiful, see Pacteau 1994.

being mentioned. Physical qualities are sometimes mentioned, but when we are told about the appearance of mothers, the order of presentation is such as makes no explicit, and sometimes little implicit, connection with the sexual plot: 'Of Nereus and fair-tressed Doris, daughter of Okeanos, were born children who were very lovely goddesses' (*Theogony* 240–2), 'They say that Typhaon, terrible and violent and lawless, was mingled in love with her [Echidna], the maid with the glancing eyes' (*Theogony* 306–7). Commonly, the pattern is that the attributes of beauty belong to the children not the mother: 'Keto bore to Phorkys the fair-cheeked Graiai' (*Theogony* 270), 'Styx daughter of Okeanos was mingled with Pallas and bore Zelos and fair-ankled Nike in the halls' (*Theogony* 383–4). In view of the common application of the adjective to women's form, we may come close to the plot of sexual attraction when Phoebe is said to have 'come to the much-loved bed of Koios' (Φοίβη δ' αὖ Κοίον πολυήρατον ἦλθεν ἐς εὐνήν, *Theogony* 404) but we only get there for the first time when Iapetos 'led off for himself the fair-ankled Okeanid maid Klymene and entered the same bed' (*Theogony* 507–8). Iapetos is the father of Epimetheus and Prometheus: the sexual attraction of female appearance comes on the scene as Pandora waits in the wings.

In the *Theogony*, something like the plot of the *Catalogue* becomes even vaguely apparent only when we get to the reign of Zeus at line 886 and the world of the gods becomes fully anthropomorphic. This is, of course, exactly where the *Catalogue* also begins – with women loved by Zeus. Zeus' first partner in the *Theogony*, Metis, is introduced with a stress on her skills: she is 'the one of gods and mortal men knowing most' (*Theogony* 887). But his second partner, Themis, is 'sleek' (λιπαρή *Theogony* 901), and his third, Eurynome, has a very lovely form (*Theogony* 907–8); his fourth, Demeter, is simply 'much-nourishing' πολυφόρβη (*Theogony* 912, hence West's restoration of *Catalogue* fr. 177.9) but his fifth, Mnemosyne, has beautiful hair (*Theogony* 915; she had had no such epithet when she appeared earlier in the poem, at line 54). Hera, finally, has her fertility stressed (*Theogony* 921). When we move on from the loves of Zeus to those of the other gods, at 930, the attractions of the partners are not discussed, although the fertility of Aglaie and Ariadne is mentioned and Ariadne is *xanthê* 'fair-haired' in a line in which Dionysus is *chrysokomês* 'golden-haired' (947). Attractions reappear with 'fair-ankled Alcmene' mother of Heracles by Zeus (again) (*Theogony* 950), with 'fair-cheeked Iduia' (*Theogony* 960), who is wife to Helios' son Aietes, with Aietes' daughter, the 'maid with flashing eyes' (Medea) (*Theogony* 998), and, when goddesses mate with mortals, with Aphrodite with the beautiful garland (*Theogony* 1008), only to disappear

with the final female figures in the poem, Circe, not given an epithet (1011), and Calypso (simply δῖα θεάων, 1017).

The motif of physical beauty attracting male attention is nowhere explicitly stressed in the *Theogony*, as it is when the *Catalogue* is explicit that a woman is bedded 'because of her beauty', and the plot shape of the *Catalogue* is only faintly and fleetingly visible. The contrast between the *Catalogue* and the *Theogony* is marked: in the *Catalogue*, there is hardly a woman mentioned whose physical attractions are not signalled, but even in the last part of the *Theogony* many women are mentioned without being made to appear. This is true of those strings of female figures in succession – Amphitrite (930), Kythereia (933), Harmonia (937), Maia (938), Semele (940), Alcmene (942; only when mentioned as mother, rather than when she unites with Zeus, does Alcmene become 'fair-ankled'); that such a sequence should occur in the *Catalogue* is unthinkable.

If comparison with the *Theogony* shows that genealogical literature does not need the plot of physical attraction, comparison with the 'catalogue of women' in *Odyssey* 11.225–332 shows that catalogues of women do not need it either. *Odyssey* 11 has a curious relationship with the *Catalogue*, one which seems to me not fully to have been explicated by the many arguments for the priority of one or the other. Several not particularly familiar mythical figures appear in both (Chloris, Pero, Tyro). The fact that these figures all come from one small part of the genealogy of the descendants of Aeolus strongly points towards a common origin, but although some lines occur in both places, the formulae with which the individual women are described never coincide.[12] So Tyro appears as 'of good ancestry' (εὐπατέριαν 11.235), although she is 'fair-tressed' in the *Catalogue* (fr. 30.25); Chloris is 'very beautiful' (περικαλλέα 11.281), although she has a beautiful girdle in the *Catalogue*; Pero was 'a wonder for mortals, whom all those dwelling around wooed' (θαῦμα βροτοῖσι, | τὴν πάντες μνώοντο περικτίται 11.287–8, compare Demodike, fr. 22.5–6 τὴν πλεῖστοι ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων | μνήστευον for the sentiment but not the words), although she has 'beautiful hair' in the *Catalogue* (fr. 37.8).[13]

The plot of sexual attraction is not entirely absent from the *Odyssey* catalogue: Neleus explicitly marries Chloris 'because of her beauty' (11.282), just as Agamemnon in the *Catalogue* married Clytemnestra because of her beauty (fr. 23.13). But that plot is not at all the only plot here on offer.

[12] *Odyssey* 11.240 ~ fr. 30.35, 249–50 ~ fr. 31.2–3, cf. Heubeck in Heubeck–Hoekstra 1989: 92. 'The poet of the *Ehoiai*, like the poet of the *Odyssey*, drew his material from old epic tradition, but also had 235–59 before him'.

[13] All this material is collected by Cohen 1989–90: 12–27, but not to any great effect.

The quality of the father, which is never flagged up at all in the *Catalogue*, is much stressed with Tyro (ἣ φάτο Σαλμωνῆος ἀμύμονος ἔκγονος εἶναι 11.236). So too is the pride of women in having been chosen as partners of gods: Antiope 'boasted of having been in Zeus's embraces' (ἣ δὴ καὶ Διὸς εὔχετ' ἐν ἀγκοίνῃσιν ἰαῦσαι 11.261),[14] and Iphimedeia 'asserted that she had mingled with Poseidon' (ἣ δὴ φάσκε Ποσειδάωνι μιγῆναι 11.306). This is part of a more general suggestion of female responsibility: Tyro 'conceives a passion for the river, the divine Enipeus, which is much the most beautiful of rivers to flow over the earth' (11.238–9: ἣ ποταμοῦ ἠράσσατ', Ἐνιπῆος θείοιο, ὃς πολὺ κάλλιστος ποταμῶν ἐπὶ γαῖαν ἵησι); Epicaste 'did a big thing getting herself married in ignorance to her son' (ἣ μέγα ἔργον ἔρεξεν ἀϊδρείῃσι νόοιο, | γημαμένη ᾧι υἱῖ 11.272–3), and 'hateful Eriphyle received valuable gold for her dear husband' (11.327). This all gives the *Odyssey* catalogue a very different tone from the *Catalogue of Women* – no hateful women there – and further emphasises the extremely restricted plot line that the *Catalogue* allows itself.[15] The women of the *Catalogue of Women* are, and particularly by contrast to those in the *Odyssey* catalogue, exceptionally orderly: they all fit into essentially the same order of things, an order where women are sexually attractive to men, made into sexual partners on a more or less permanent basis, and bring forth offspring.[16]

One further aspect of the way in which the women of the *Catalogue* fit into a remarkably invariant order of things needs to be stressed. Discussions of the Homeric poems have famously devoted much attention to gifts on the occasion of marriage, since in Homer both gifts from the family of the bride and gifts from the (family of the) bridegroom are found. Anthony Snodgrass observed their incompatibility in historical societies, though this has been disputed, and many scholars see a historical transition from 'bride-price' to 'dowry', sometimes connecting it with complex agriculture.[17] In narrative terms, there is some reason to think that 'bride-price' is a marked signifier, a feature of foreign or otherwise odd unions. But in

[14] The embraces reappear in 268 and in the *Catalogue* at fr. 10a.102 (restored of Aiolis and Poseidon), fr. 43a.81, when Eurynome enters the embraces of Poseidon and begets Bellerophon, and in the *Megalai Ehoiai* fr. 252.5, where Thero falls into the embrace of Apollo and begets Khairon.

[15] It seems unlikely that the differences between the poems are to be explained by different audiences: there is no reason to believe that the audience for the *Odyssey* was significantly different in make-up from the audience for the *Catalogue*, and the fact that the internal audience for the *Odyssey* catalogue includes a woman, Arete, is unlikely to make any difference. On women at feasts in the Homeric poems see van Wees 1995: 154–63.

[16] It is worth noting here that, despite its name, the *Catalogue* seems sometimes to have been excerpted by later writers in such a way as to 'do without women': the quotations tell us that children were produced by a man without telling anything about the woman involved: frr. 9, 40, and perhaps 77.

[17] Snodgrass 1974, Morris 1986.

the *Catalogue* there is no dowry: there is a single uniform practice without any disruption, for whenever we meet the exchange of gifts on marriage it is from the man to the woman. So Thestius buys a wife by giving myriad bride-gifts (fr. 26.37), as does an anonymous figure at fr. 43a.21. Sisyphus attempts to acquire first Mestra and then Eurynome for Glaucus by giving gifts – Poseidon in fact slips in first to make them mothers (fr. 43a. 15ff., 35ff. 75–81). In a partial parallel, Zeus even offers a golden bracelet fashioned by Hephaestus to Europa (fr. 141.3–4). Dardanos appears to give a whole range of gifts, including gold, herds and flocks to get his wife (fr. 180.5–10). The sons of Perseus offer a bride-price to acquire the sisters Lysidice, Nicippe and Astydameia as wives. Suitors also offer gifts, not only the suitors of Helen, who compete in gift-giving, with Menelaus winning because he provides most (fr. 204.87), but also those of the daughter of Agenor, Demodike ('and the strong kings named many famous gifts', καὶ πολλὰ [περ]ικλυτὰ δῶρ᾽ ὀνόμηναν | ἴφθιμοι βασιλῆες, fr. 22.6–7). Only once is the practice explicitly disrupted: Stratonice, the daughter of Porthaon, is taken by Apollo for his son 'without bride-price' (ἀνάᾳ[δ]ν̣[ον] fr. 26.23). But to mention that there was no bride-price in one case only reinforces the idea that bride-price is the standard practice. This is a world in which women are bought by men, though not in the same way by gods, and where among mortals the greater gift takes the trick. Gods may trump men, but they do not compete on the same level, since their liaisons, although productive, are temporary. Men may compete with each other in gifts, but this is not an occasion for conflict. Given the likelihood that the poem was performed in a world where dowry was universal and bride price unknown, the choice of a uniform narrative of bride-price can only further emphasise the plot in which women have something irresistible to men, and which men will pay out to acquire.

DISORDERLY WOMEN

The fact that Stratonike is taken without bride-price raises the possibility that I have overstressed the extent to which these women fit into a single order of things. However much the declared absence of bride-price may remind us that bride-price is regular, here is a woman who does not fit the regular pattern. What is more, the lack of bride-price does not seem random: although the daughters of Porthaon, bear, in two cases at least, names that are highly political and emphasise the values of the political community, Eurythemiste and Stratonike, their behaviour is another matter. They accompany the Nymphs on the top of Parnassos, living in the mountains

and deserting both father and mother, beautiful but also ignorant/innocent (fr. 26.9–21). Apollo, who takes Stratonike, gives her to his son Melas as wife, a son himself born in the mountains. Here, we do seem to meet daughters who have broken the pattern and become distinctly disorderly. Yet once married to Melas, Stratonike bears him a son 'in his halls' (ἐν μεγάροισιν fr. 26.27), the disorderliness is over, and within a few lines the succeeding generation is being wooed with 'myriad bride-gifts' (μυρία ἕ[δ]ν̣α fr. 26.37).

Moments of disorder are not numerous among the ranks of the women of the *Catalogue*. Rather little of the extended material turns upon the behaviour of women. There is the case of Alkyone and Ceyx (fr. 10a.80–98), who become so foolishly in love that their boasting draws Zeus's wrath, but how far that was presented in the *Catalogue* as the result of Alkyone's initiative, rather than Ceyx's, we cannot know (cf. fr. 10d). To that lesson not to boast of love, Atalanta adds the lesson that every woman has her price. She flees marriage (literally) but is defeated by trickery (fr. 76.8ff.) and the golden apples, so that the standard plot of sexual attraction leading to sex and procreation wins out in the end. The Proitids, initially wooed by 'panhellenes' (fr. 130), go mad and lose their hair for religious offences (frr. 129–34, esp. 131). The offence of not accepting Dionysiac rites is unlikely to be one to which readers of the poem are regularly tempted, so that once more the burden of the story does not weigh upon the audience; and we might note that, to judge by other sources, at least, Iphianassa still manages to go on to produce a good progeny.[18]

Much more is potentially at stake for the audience in the prolonged dispute over Mestra between her father Erysichthon/Aithon and Sisyphus.[19] Sisyphus wanted to 'buy' her for Glaucus, only to have her change form and escape back to the house of her father Erysichthon, who uses the bride-price to feed his insatiable hunger. The ruling goes against Sisyphus in the dispute that arises between the two men. Here, the description of Mestra's actions is lacking, though she may be described as 'knowing subtle wiles in her mind' (fr. 43a.9) and/or may be the subject who 'deceives even the πολύφρονα man' (fr. 43a.18). There is no doubt, however, that this is a disorder of the regular plot which is very much more disturbing than Stratonike's not receiving a bride-price. Here is a bride who does not remain in the halls, a woman who is always changing her form. Here, too, we seem to have a ruling that, once paid, purchase price cannot be recovered: bride-price is not provisional, as dowry historically was, to be recalled if the

[18] See further West 1985a: 78–9. [19] On this, see Brillante 1983b, Rutherford (this volume).

marriage breaks down, but absolute. *Contra* West, I see no reason to think that this is an *aition* for an actual law, at Athens or anywhere else, and suggest that we should rather see it as deliberately formulated in relation to the contrasting situation with dowry payments.[20] Keeping the wife is here the responsibility of the husband and his family, a responsibility that Glaucus and Sisyphus find impossible. This moment of disorder reinforces the idea that it is the man's responsibility to keep his wife, while at the same time drawing attention to the capacity of the gods to frustrate the efforts even of the cleverest of men to do this. Women's unreliability is here made something that husbands cannot expect outside sanction to control. And some women, it appears, only gods can expect to subdue (fr. 43a.55, cf. 81). Here, for the first time, we have an indication that the simple plot that dominates the poem may not be the only plot to be met with in real life.

The daughters of Tyndareus, Timandre, Clytemnestra, and Helen, are systematically disorderly, made polygamous abandoners of their husbands by Aphrodite (fr. 176). We do not know exactly how either Clytemnestra's or Helen's story was played out, but Timandre's leaving her husband is presented as her action, and Clytemnestra is credited with having 'chosen a worse man' (εἵλετο χείρον' ἀκοίτην fr. 176.6), so that female as well as divine agency was certainly acknowledged. The account of Clytemnestra and Timandre earlier (fr. 23a.12–33) includes an account of the sacrifice of Iphimede in which those responsible are the Achaians, with no role ascribed to Agamemnon and no mention of Agamemnon's death or Clytemnestra's liaison with Aigisthos, although it does tell of Orestes' killing of his father's murderer and of his mother ('who, indeed, when he came of age paid back the killer of his father and slew his overbearing mother with the cruel bronze', ὅς ῥα καὶ ἡβήσας ἀπε[τείσατο π]ατροφο[ν]ῆα, | κτεῖνε δὲ μητέρα [ἣν ὑπερήν]ορα νηλέι [χαλκῶι] fr. 23a.29–30). Issues of blame emerge here in that conjecture ὑπερήν]ορα, a phrase elsewhere used only of men; in the rest of the account Clytemnestra is twice simply 'dark-eyed' (κυανῶπις fr. 23a.14, 27).

In none of the cases of disorder is it clear that the disorder was presented as starting with the women who perpetrate it: Mestra's actions are tied to Erysichthon's story, Alkyone's to her husband's matching behaviour, Clytemnestra's to the actions of Tyndareus, if not of Agamemnon. Only in the case of the Proitids and of Atalanta, and not certainly in those cases, were the women independent actors. The treatment of Pandora at the outset sets up a question: is her presence at the beginning a sign that her negative

[20] West 1985a: 169.

presentation of womankind is being neutralised or a reminder that her shadow will be ever present? These scattered instances of disorderly women ensure that that question remains open to the very end.

THE ULTIMACY OF HELEN

There is good reason to think that the *Catalogue of Women* ended with a book entirely dominated by Helen.[21] What else, we might ask, could it have done, given its beginning with Pandora and its structure around the plot of women's beauty attracting male desire, of which Helen stands as the ultimate example? As we have it, Book 5 of the *Catalogue* consists of the catalogue of Helen's suitors followed by the notice of Hermione's birth (fr. 204.94) and then a remarkable change of tone as we hear first of dissension among the gods and then of a great change of life for humans. What came after that is far less clear. This is the book where we are most confident about the line numbers of the surviving fragments, and what we have seems too short for a complete book. West thinks there must have been a return to 'a more detailed level of narrative', but in any case it seems very unlikely that the poem ever left the Helen story.[22]

What are the implications of having a final book of this shape? To answer that question, I want first to consider geography.[23] The local aspects of the *Catalogue*'s genealogies have long been noted. Book 1 starts with figures more or less clearly associated with northern Greece (Macedon, Graikos, Hellen) and proceeds with central Greece via Aeolus and Doris and with Heracles and Deianeira. Calydon and Pleuron take us west. From there, we progress into the Peloponnese with the Neleids. Book 2 has a less clear geographical focus but fills out central Greece with Phocus and Panopeus. Book 3 has both a heavy Theban presence (children of Cadmus) and also traces the Arcadians and the Lacedaemonians (descended from Zeus and Taygete). Book 4 has a heavy focus on the Saronic Gulf with Aegina and Salamis and with the Cecropids, but several Boeotians belong here too (the visit of Zeus to Alcmene is heavily localised), and we end up with the descendants of Pelops. There is no particularly orderly geographical focus to all of this, but there are distinct geographical groupings. Whether we are to treat those as a product of how the poem was put together from genealogies designed for local political purposes, or as a creation in which geography is used to structure past time, is not here my concern, though

[21] Cf. Cingano and Clay (this volume). [22] West 1985a: 121.
[23] See West 1985a: Chapter 3 and especially 164–71.

currently most scholars strongly favour the former.[24] My concern is rather with how none of this works for Book 5. It is not just that there is hardly any genealogical depth (two generations), but that the suitors come from all over Greece.[25] Locally there is, of course, a lot of geographical detail, and where the suitors come from is made into an issue, as it has not been with figures earlier in the poem, but the main feature of the list of suitors, as of the Catalogue of Ships, must have been that the suitors came from all over Greece. Compared to the distinct geographical foci of earlier books, Book 5 was geographically promiscuous. If any who heard the *Catalogue* were expecting the geographical sequence to be also a hierarchy, where the last region focused upon was at the top, Book 5 destroys those expectations. Book 5 insists that what is important about the preceding genealogies is not their order but their totality: all of them contribute to the panhellenes' gathering at Troy, with whom all epic enthusiasts inevitably identified.

But the ultimacy of Helen has another force too, a force which seems to me to have been seen by the earliest ancient reader of what must have been something essentially similar in structure and plot to our *Catalogue*.[26] For there is another ancient catalogue poem that ends with Helen, and ends as enigmatically as perhaps the *Catalogue* did. 'For Zeus made this greatest evil, and placed an unbreakable chain around as a fetter, as a result of which Hades received some struggling-around for the sake of a woman.' So, with its solitary μέν, ends Semonides 7 as we have it.[27]

From one point of view, Semonides' poem is very much the opposite of Hesiod's *Catalogue*. Where modern critics have suggested that in the *Catalogue* 'the attitude toward women is generally encomiastic',[28] and have claimed that 'The fame of the *Eoiae*'s heroines rests solely on their biological function: no individual characterization is attempted as far as can be detected, nor does Hesiod view women apart from their relationships with

[24] Fowler 1998.

[25] Finkelberg 1988 has argued that at least part of the list of suitors goes back to the same tradition as that from which the Catalogue of Ships is formed, but from an *older* stratum of it, but Cingano (this volume) effectively disposes of that case.

[26] Scholars have taken very different views of the dates of the *Catalogue.* Janko 1982: 85–7 contemplated the possibility that it dated to earlier than the *Theogony* as we have it, and to the first decades of the seventh century. West argues that the poem dates to after rather than before 600, but none of the features that he points to as indicating this are structural: all could have been variants introduced as the poem – which had acquired in the seventh century the structure that West himself has reconstructed – was reperformed for new audiences with particular expectations. What my claims here demand is that the plot of sexual attraction, the beginning with Pandora, the hints of disorder included in such figures as Mestra, and the ending with Helen were already part of the poem Semonides became acquainted with.

[27] For Semonides' knowledge of *Theogony* and *Works and Days* see Janko 1982: 96–8.

[28] Rutherford 2000: 86.

men. Indeed, the women seem to be interesting primarily as referents to their heroic sons. In the fragments that survive, they play no active role in their own stories',[29] no one would suggest either for Semonides' poem. The attitude toward women is not at all encomiastic; they are individually and vividly characterised, are active, forcing themselves on their husbands, and, with the exception of the bee-woman, produce no progeny at all, let alone a progeny to be proud of and known for.

But Semonides' poem also has something markedly in common with the *Catalogue*: it has an identical driving plot. Semonides' women, for all that they are disorderly in other respects, are, and increasingly during the poem, the *Catalogue*'s orderly women: they attract men and become sexual partners. I have argued that the *Catalogue* presented a parade of orderly women and only occasionally hinted, with figures like Mestra, at the possibilities of disorder, ending, however, with the plot of sexual attraction leaving all Greeks on the verge of warfare. Semonides' poem begins with disorder and then teases out of that disorder, as I have argued elsewhere, a plot that is increasingly like that of the *Catalogue*, as the descriptions of successive women are increasingly sexualised.[30] Two features are particularly worth stressing here: the shadows of one side of Hesiod's double bind from the *Theogony* in the way Hunger (*limos*) comes to a house with the wife (v. 101); and the image of the wife who appears *sôphrôn* but leaves her husband gaping and the neighbours in fits of laughter (vv. 108–11).

The repeated descriptions of the physical attractions of the women in the *Catalogue* present the women as those who would bed them see them. As Semonides observes (l.112–13) 'each man will praise his wife when he mentions her' τὴν ἢν δ'ἕκαστος αἰνέσει μεμνημένος | γυναῖκα. Within the plot structure of the *Catalogue*, to call a woman 'fair-tressed', 'beautiful-cheeked', or 'fair-ankled' is not merely to describe; it is to explain. The descriptions of Semonides reverse the viewpoint: we see the wives as others see them, not as their husbands see them. Again, Semonides' observation continues 'but he will find fault with another's wife' (τὴν δὲ τοὐτέρου μωμήσεται v. 113). Semonides has rewritten the *Catalogue* from another's viewpoint. But he has kept the ending. Helen's suitors form his climax and confirmation: all these would-be husbands behaving as if they were the husband, not detecting that she is really just like all other women.

When the *Catalogue* ends with the suitors of Helen, it is hard to see that it is offering confirmation of its orderly plot. In the case of the disorderly women discussed earlier in the poem, the extent to which they distort or

[29] McLeod 1991: 13. [30] Osborne 2001.

destroy men's lives seems strictly limited. It is notable in the case of Mestra that, by concerning itself with Sisyphus and with the monetary aspects of the marriage transaction, the narrative limits the reader's concerns for the jilted husband, Glaucus. But Helen? Coming, even successfully, to the defence of the marriage that each wished had been theirs destroyed the lives of all these men from all over Greece. When the orderly plot of attraction and sex meets the forces of real life, in which it is not simply gods but also other men who get in first, catastrophe follows.

What Semonides does in his poem is nothing more, or less, than unpack the consequences explored at the end of the *Catalogue*. The questions implicit in Pandora's place at the beginning, questions of whether the attractions of women have consequences limited to the production of further attractive women in the next generation, are forever deferred in the first four books of the *Catalogue*. In Book 5 they are answered: sooner or later, the plot of attraction leads to all that was in Pandora's jar. Even the suppression of female initiative, which Semonides unmasks as fantasising, and the suppression of the female voice, cannot prevent the orderly plot of the *Catalogue* being finally also the plot of disorder.[31] What can be achieved by Zeus, because he is at the top of the hierarchy of power, cannot be achieved by men. The poet signals that the attempt of the suitors to hierarchise themselves as competitive gift-givers only worked because there was no one with qualities that trumped gifts: had Achilles been of age, Menelaus would not have won (fr. 204.89–92). Whatever order men concoct for themselves is vulnerable: men cannot make up the rules in the face of Zeus and the gods (fr. 204.95–7). As that first known reader of the *Catalogue* saw, ordering women belongs to fantasy.[32]

[31] For the suppression of female initiative see Doherty 1993: 7: 'There is barely time to picture Tyro's solitude before Poseidon intrudes on it. His actions take center stage, while Tyro assumes a passive role'; for the suppression of the female voice see Rutherford 2000: 88 'of all the characters that speak, none is a woman'.

[32] I am grateful to Richard Hunter for the invitation to formulate and indulge my fantasies, to all the participants at the Laurence Seminar, and in particular to Glenn Most and John Henderson, for their observations and criticisms, and to the two anonymous readers for Cambridge University Press.

CHAPTER 2

The beginning and end of the Catalogue of Women *and its relation to Hesiod*

Jenny Strauss Clay

The discovery of the extensive proem to the *Catalogue* in a papyrus published in 1956[1] revived the old question of the relation between the *Ehoiai* and the rest of the Hesiodic corpus. While the authenticity of the *Catalogue* and its attribution to Hesiod were widely accepted in antiquity, modern philologists have reached no consensus on its genuineness or its date. As so often in such controversies, supposedly 'objective' criteria – linguistic, stylistic, and historical evidence – have been invoked to argue both for and against Hesiodic authorship.[2] But these criteria too have changed as our knowledge of archaic Greece has evolved and expanded. Recently, Dräger, on historical grounds, and Arrighetti, on literary ones, have argued for genuineness.[3] Stylistic arguments are, as we all know, notoriously subjective: if the *Theogony* and the *Works and Days* were not traditionally ascribed to one author, would most scholars have done so?[4]

[1] POxy 2354 first published in Lobel 1956: 1–3 = Hesiod fr. 1.

[2] Recent studies date the poem from the early seventh all the way down to the beginning of the fifth century. If nothing else, such a gap vividly demonstrates our ignorance. Schwartz 1960: 498 suggests a date for the poem's completion between 506 and 476; West 1985a: 127–36 puts forth a range between 580 and 520 and believes that the '*Catalogue* poet naturally knew the *Theogony* well and the *Works and Days* too' (p. 128). West also finds that the '*Ehoiai* were not flotsam but organic, immovable parts of the whole' (p. 122). Cf. Merkelbach 1968b: 133–55, who does not commit himself on the question of authorship but also views the work as a unified whole. Janko 1982 dates the *Theogony* to 680 and the *Catalogue* slightly earlier on the basis of linguistic and dictional criteria, and he suggests that its style 'is that of a composer with less range but some fluency in the diction, and otherwise very like Hesiod' (p. 86). His suggestion raises the intriguing possibility that the *Theogony* and the *Works and Days* were composed as complements to the *Catalogue*, rather than vice versa. In the footsteps of Wilamowitz 1905: 124, Stiewe 1963: 24–9 dates it in the sixth century because of its pessimistic tone, and Schwartz 1960: 485 suggests a progressive accretion of materials.

[3] Dräger 1997 defends the Hesiodic authorship of both the end of the *Theogony* and the authenticity of the *Catalogue*; Arrighetti 1998: 445–7 draws attention to the weakness of the arguments against authenticity, and Casanova 1979a argues that both the plan and fundamental structure of the work are Hesiodic.

[4] Cf. Marg 1970: 8: 'Wüßten wir nicht sicher, daß Theogonie wie Erga Hesiod gehören, wären wir von Stil und Anlage her versucht, die beiden Gedichte verschiedenen Autoren zuzuweisen. Das mag vorsichtig machen für die Echtheitsfrage der "Frauenkataloge".'

Often, the rejection of Hesiodic authorship for the *Catalogue* derives from an unspoken premise: if Hesiod's poetry constitutes an implicit polemic against heroic epic, then we should not assign to Hesiod a composition dealing with the heroic tradition, far less one that attempts to give an exhaustive account of the heroic age from beginning to end. But such an antagonism to heroic epic is a scholarly invention, arising, as I have argued elsewhere, from a misinterpretation of the *Theogony*'s proem.[5] It was long held that the Muses' words to Hesiod should be interpreted polemically to mean that Homeric epic is false, while Hesiod's own poetry is true. It is on the basis – often enough not explicitly stated – of this supposed hostility to heroic epic that Hesiodic authorship of the *Ehoiai* is rejected. But with its genealogical structure and emphasis on the female, the *Catalogue of Women*, which Rutherford has argued to belong to a traditional genre of hexameter verse, constitutes a perfect complement to heroic epic, with its narrative form and concentration on the male.[6]

I have argued elsewhere that the *Theogony* and the *Works and Days* must be interpreted together, each complementing the other, in order to form a unified whole embracing the divine and human cosmos.[7] Whether Hesiodic or not, the *Catalogue of Women* seems to provide a suitable supplement to both compositions by offering a heroic perspective, intermediate between the divine and the human, both chronologically and conceptually. We must not, however, expect a simple correlation between these divergent frameworks. The gods' vision of the cosmos does not correspond to the human viewpoint; and likewise, from the vantage of mankind, the gods look very different. That tension, I would maintain, constitutes the core of the Hesiodic vision.

Thus, it should not surprise us that the portrait of the heroic age presented in the *Catalogue* does not in all respects match the accounts of the demigods in the *Theogony* or the *Works and Days*.[8] For example, the proem of the *Catalogue* offers a picture of the heroes that brings them closer in some respects to the race of gold. To be sure, neither the golden race nor the heroes of the *Catalogue* are exempt from mortality. These heroes may sit alongside the gods and feast with them, but they also sail on ships and

[5] Clay 2003: 58–64.

[6] Rutherford 2000: 81–96 convincingly explores both the generic character and the 'archaeology' of the Hesiodic *Catalogue*. See also the remarks of Fowler 1998: 15–16. Kakridis 1972: 152–63 argued that the integration and cataloguing of the various strands of the heroic traditions into one master genealogy must have taken place in Ionia.

[7] Clay 2003.

[8] Even the two contiguous accounts of the early history of mankind in the *Works and Days* (Prometheus and the Myth of the Races) do not simply correspond in a mechanical way.

engage in warfare; unlike the golden race of the *Works and Days*, some die of old age, others are long-lived, and yet others die in their youth.[9] As distinct from the golden race who live *like* the gods, the heroes of the *Catalogue* share both bed and board *with* the gods.[10] Moreover, since the *Catalogue*'s declared subject is the unions of gods with mortal women and their engendering of the heroes, it seems likely that its presentation of womankind would differ and in fact be more positive than that of either Pandora or the Woman/Wife. The heroines at least were desirable in the eyes of the gods and bore them splendid children.[11] The proem concludes with a list of divinities that begot children with mortal women. Although lacunose, the order of names seems to correspond to the gods enumerated in the list contained in vv. 930–61 of the *Theogony*.[12] If, as I believe, such a correspondence does not merely constitute a mechanical imitation, it would then appear to confirm the continuity of Zeus's marital politics into the heroic age.

At any rate, the *Catalogue* apparently began from the familiar threesome, Prometheus, his brother Epimetheus and the fabricated woman Pandora (frr. 2, 4, and 5). Their prominent position in the composition suggests a conscious attempt to link the *Catalogue* to the two other Hesiodic compositions. All three Hesiodic poems would then contain a variant of the Prometheus myth, in each case adjusted to fit the context in which it is embedded. But, in the *Catalogue*, the myth offers yet another account of human origins that diverges from both those found in the other Hesiodic compositions. Apparently, the focus of this version was the story of

[9] My interpretation of the fragmentary lines 8–13 generally follows that of Stiewe 1962: 297–9. West 1961: 133, however, believes that the heroes were not subject to old age and thus that 'the heroic age is not distinguished from the golden age of the *Erga*.' In fact, West sets the heroes of the *Catalogue* in a time 'before the separation at Mekone' (133), and his supplements to the proem's lines 8–14 (p. 141) make those two epochs indistinguishable. But I think a Greek would be surprised to learn that the heroes never aged or sailed on ships. West's interpretation of the proem also permeates his view of fr. 204 (cf. further below), and he is now followed by Koenen 1994. Schmitt 1975: 19–31 successfully challenges West's interpretation. Schmitt, however, holds that vv. 8–13 contrast the life span of the heroes with human beings of the present, whereas I would argue that the conditions of the heroes' existence resembled our own in every respect but their intimacy with the gods. Most recently, Cerutti 1998: 127–78 has argued in detail that the interpretations of West and Koenen cannot be maintained.

[10] Cf. Cerutti 1998: 129–38, who also points out that the golden race is said to live during the reign of Cronus, whereas the heroes are firmly situated in the reign of Zeus. One might remember again that women did not exist in the golden age.

[11] Cf. Dio 2.14, and the defence of Hesiod by Arrighetti 1998: 452–67 against the charge of misogyny. It has been argued that Odysseus rehearses the *Odyssey*'s 'Catalogue of Women' (*Od.* 11.235–329), which closely resembles the Hesiodic *Catalogue*, in order to win over the goodwill of the Phaeacian queen.

[12] Cf. Treu 1957: 173, n. 8. But Treu wrongly believed that the *Catalogue* was organised according to this list of divinities.

Deucalion, the son of Prometheus, and Pyrrha, the daughter of Epimetheus and Pandora. After the destruction of mankind – whether through flood or some other catastrophe[13] – Deucalion and Pyrrha, the last remaining mortals on earth, repopulated the earth by throwing stones that gave rise to human beings. In addition, Pyrrha unites not only with Deucalion, but also with Zeus to produce the ancestors of the Greek tribes. This history of the human race thus implies a double origin: one half-divine, a hybrid of mortal, Olympian and Titanic, a heroic strand, sprung from Pyrrha and Deucalion and constantly reinforced through human–divine unions; and a second strand, sprung from the earth and the rocks thrown by the first couple.

So much seems to be clear, but the sparse fragments and the contradictory testimonia render detailed reconstruction of the myth and the early genealogy of mankind difficult.[14] Yet certain general features can safely be posited. Like both the *Works and Days* and the *Theogony*, the *Catalogue* suggests that the heroic epoch is post-Promethean.[15] But the evolutionary model of mankind's history it implies diverges from both poems. The demigods are apparently preceded by an age in which the gods maintained more distant relations with human beings; the heroic age in turn is followed by our own era, when the gods again remove themselves from intimate commerce with humanity. The heroic age thus stands in the *Catalogue* as an exceptional and ephemeral period of human proximity to the divine against a backdrop of more 'normal' alienation from the gods. The passing of these half-human/half-divine hybrids therefore reinstates the *status quo ante*, ὡς τὸ πάρος περ.[16]

Both the beginning and the end of the race of the demigods are marked off by cataclysmic events: at the beginning, perhaps the flood; at its end,

[13] West 1985a: 55–6 believes that the flood did not occur in the *Catalogue*, but is a later importation from the East; Merkelbach 1968b: 144, however, assumes that the flood did occur in the poem. The scholia on *Works and Days* 157–58 suggest that the flood destroyed Hesiod's third race. In any case, Pyrrha and Deucalion seem to represent some sort of a new beginning. Cf. Stiewe 1963: 7 n. 2: 'Die Verbindung von Göttern und Menschen hat in den Frauenkatalogen nicht nur ein Ende, sondern auch einen Anfang.'

[14] For some attempts, see West 1985a: 50–3, Casanova 1979a, Merkelbach 1968b: 145, and Dräger 1997: 33–42.

[15] Cerutti 1998: 140–3 argues that the heroes of the *Catalogue* cannot be equated with the human beings before Mekone (because she follows West in believing that the demigods were not subject to old age), but she does not seem to recognise that the heroes arise subsequently in Zeus's reign. Later (176), however, she acknowledges that the period covered in the *Catalogue* represents 'una parentesi chiusa tra due situazioni di separazione'.

[16] Fr. 204.102. West 1985a: 119 understands the phrase to mean that the sons of the gods would 'live apart in the paradise conditions they had enjoyed in the beginning'. Cf. Koenen 1994: 29–30. Stiewe 1963 for the most part elaborates the observations of Wilamowitz in the *editio princeps* (Schubart and Wilamowitz 1907).

the Trojan War.[17] Spanning the heroic age, the *Catalogue* may also have documented a gradual distancing of gods and men during its course.[18] The composition ended with the war between the Greeks and the Trojans and its aftermath, which traditionally signalled the demise of the heroic age. A good many fragments, apparently from earlier parts of the *Ehoiai*, allude to characters and incidents involved in that conflict. It would then be plausible that the war itself did not form part of the narrative, but that its various genealogical strands concluded with the generation of the heroes who fought around Troy.[19] If so, the *Catalogue* as a whole would continually point to the event that brings the heroic age to its conclusion. The *Cypria*, which recounted the beginning of that war, likewise links the Trojan War to the demise of the heroes, which suggests that both the *Catalogue* and the *Cypria* are drawing on the same tradition. In the proem of the *Cypria*, Zeus is said to plan the Trojan conflict in order to lighten the burden of the earth, which is weighed down by human overpopulation.[20] The instruments of Zeus's plan are Achilles and, above all, Helen.[21]

The *Catalogue* seems to allude to this motif in the enigmatic fr. 204, which is usually assigned to the end of the work. It enumerates a lengthy catalogue of the suitors of Helen – which resembles the list of warriors prominent in the *Iliad* – and their oath to punish anyone who carries her off (41–90).[22] After Menelaus' winning suit and the birth of their daughter Hermione, we suddenly shift to a divisive conflict among the gods brought about by an ominous plan devised by Zeus.[23] The plan that the Olympian was about to contrive would, we are told, please neither gods nor men. He was eager to 'render invisible the numerous race of mortal men' προφάσιν μὲν ὀλέσθαι | ψυχὰς ἡμιθέων 'with the *prophasis* of destroying the lives of the demigods'

[17] Scodel 1982: 33–50 suggests that *Iliad* 12.3–35 may connect the Trojan War and the destruction of the Achaean wall with the Near-Eastern Flood myth. Koenen 1994: 1–34 surveys Near-Eastern parallels. Note, however, that in both Homer and Hesiod not all the heroes perish. However wretched our age of iron, we are still their heirs.

[18] See Davies 1992: 82–135 for this important point. She believes that the *Catalogue* was intended to fill in the gap between the *Theogony* and the Homeric poems. Within the Hesiodic cosmos, however, I would argue for a transition to the *Works and Days*.

[19] Cf., for instance, frr. 23, 35.10, 136, 141.14–32, 165.14–25, 176.5–7, 195, 212b.

[20] *Cypria* fr. 1. Cf. Euripides, *Electra* 1282–3, *Helen* 36–41, and *Orestes* 1639–42, and the discussion of Jouan 1966: 39–54; see also, more generally, Burgess 2001.

[21] Cf. Mayer 1996: 1–15, who sees both Achilles and Helen as Zeus's instruments for bringing *eris* to mankind. This is interesting in the light of Hesiod's teaching about *eris* in the *Works and Days*.

[22] With, of course, the exception of Achilles mentioned at the end of the list (87–9), who was too young to participate. On the catalogue of the suitors, see Cingano (this volume), West 1985a: 114–21. Heilinger 1983: 19–34 doubts that the fragment comes from the end of the *Catalogue*, and believes that vv. 95ff. have nothing to do with what precedes. That would, of course, simplify our lives.

[23] The *eris* dividing the gods could be either the cause or effect of Zeus's plan (cf. Marg 1970: 516), but I think the explanatory γάρ suggests the latter.

(vv. 99–100). In early Greek poetry, the term *hemitheoi* always seems to convey not only their hybrid nature, but also a distancing perspective on the heroes that assigns them to a bygone era. The word thus suggests a retrospective vision, looking back at the legendary past from the vantage of the present.[24] Zeus's disclosure of his intention to destroy the heroes would inevitably stir up strife among the gods.[25] As the *Iliad* demonstrates, the gods do indeed resent the destruction of their children and grandchildren; on the other hand, some divinities disapprove of excessive involvement with ephemeral mortals, not only on account of the pain, but also because of the menace such closeness can produce.[26] But, as the *Iliad* likewise reveals, the conflicts among the gods and their interventions on behalf of their favourites, both Greek and Trojan, materially contribute to a prolongation of the war and to greater loss of human life on both sides.[27]

From this perspective, we can perhaps better understand the significance of the difficult term that I left untranslated above, *prophasis*, which can mean both a true motive or cause as well as a false one or a pretext.[28] In declaring his intention to annihilate the semi-divine heroes, Zeus precipitates internecine quarrels among the gods, quarrels whose final consequences entail not only the disappearance of the heroes and the restoration of the status that obtained before gods slept with mortals, ὡς τὸ πάρος

[24] Cf. *Iliad* 12.23, *Works and Days* 159–60 (ἀνδρῶν ἡρώων θεῖον γένος, οἳ καλέονται | ἡμίθεοι, προτέρη γενεὴ κατ' ἀπείρονα γαῖαν, 'the divine race of hero men who are called demigods, the previous race on the boundless earth') implies that they are called *hemitheoi* by those who are not. Cf. Clay 1996: 243–5. Similarly, the repeated τότε ('then,' line 3 and 6) in the *Catalogue*'s proem emphasises the distance between 'then' and 'now.'

[25] There is no need to see a specific allusion to the Judgement of Paris and the ensuing rivalry between the three goddesses.

[26] Cf., for instance, *Iliad* 15.113–41 for Ares' reaction to news of the death of his son Ascalaphus, Zeus's sorrow at the death of Sarpedon (*Iliad* 16.433–61), and Apollo's refusal to fight with Poseidon 'for the sake of wretched mortals, who, while they eat the fruit of the fields, flourish luxuriantly like leaves, but then perish and die' (*Iliad* 21.463–6). For the menace arising from human *hubris*, see *Iliad* 5.438–44, and Salmoneus in fr. 30.1–23 of the *Catalogue*.

[27] Cf. Clay 1999: 40–60.

[28] On *prophasis* in general, see Rawlings 1975 and Heubeck 1980: 222–36, who point out that a *prophasis* may be true or false. West 1961: 130–6 (followed by Koenen 1994: 28–9) believes Zeus's *prophasis* is a *false* pretence, and that the Olympian intends to preserve the heroes on the Isles of the Blessed, there to live happily ever after. Cf. Arrighetti 1998: 476. But as Koenen 27 n. 62 admits, 'the island is not even mentioned in the *Catalogue*'. Furthermore, this hypothesis is immediately contradicted in lines 118–19, where the heads of the ἀνδρῶν ἡρώων are going not to Elysium but to Hades. τέκνα θεῶν (101) could indeed refer to either the gods themselves or the heroes (cf. Stiewe 1963: 6 n. 2 and Marg 1970: 516), but μάκαρες in the next line is far more likely to refer to the gods (as it in fact does in line 117). Furthermore, οἳ μέν creates the expectation of a corresponding οἳ δέ. Cf. Stiewe 1963: 6 n. 2. Marg 1970: 516 suggests that πρόφασις refers to a nearer or more immediate goal rather than simply a false or pretended one. Moreover, the μέν in line 99 suggests a δέ that will follow. Stiewe 1963: 8 believes that the awkwardness in the passage arises because the poet tried to combine the *Cypria* motif and the Ages myth from the *Works and Days*.

περ;[29] a by-product of that plan is also the decimation of the human race.[30]

The overpopulation motif, which introduced the *Cypria*, surfaces in the phrase γένος | πολλόν in verses 98–9 (with πολλόν in an emphatic position at the beginning of the line), suggesting an excessive number.[31] That motif has, to be sure, Oriental parallels, but it is somewhat anomalous within the Greek context.[32] Yet if it was not simply mechanically adopted but, as I believe, integrated into its new environment, the surplus population motif forms a continuum with the cosmogonic background and the dynamics of the succession myth set in motion in the *Theogony*. There, the generation of the heroes formed part of Zeus's policy of stabilising his sovereignty. At the very beginning of the *Theogony*, the procreative energies embodied by Gaia in her drive toward change and proliferation allowed the cosmos to unfold and to take on its present configuration. But, as the succession myth repeatedly reveals, this female drive toward expansion and proliferation inevitably menaces the stability of any regime, if it is left unchecked by the male. Yet, as both Ouranos and Cronus learned, if reined in violently, it provokes an equally violent reaction on the part of the female – Gaia, or her double, Rheia – that precipitates revolution and the overthrow of the old order.

By deflecting the erotic interest of the gods onto mortals, Zeus brings stability to Olympus, at least for a while. Thus, at the end of the *Theogony*, the potentially destabilising conflicts between Hera and Zeus are played out and ultimately reconciled through their heroic offspring, perhaps ending with Heracles' apotheosis. In the long term, however, Zeus's policy apparently meets with such success that Earth herself becomes oppressed by the sheer weight of mankind. At the outset, the cosmos came into being when Gaia became oppressed by the burden of her children within; so now in a symmetrical fashion, the *external* pressure of human population weighs her down. Its removal will inaugurate our age of iron, the final phase of cosmogony. And, as in each of the previous phases, Gaia plays the role of instigator.

[29] As everyone admits, ὡς τὸ πάρος περ 'as formerly' here at the end of the poem alludes to its beginning and links the beginning and end of the heroic age. If, however, the poem began with the generation of the heroes, it must end with their demise, not, I think, with their translation to the Blessed Isles. Davies 1992: 131–3 gives an overview of the alternative interpretations proposed.

[30] I have argued for the coincidence of the *Heldendämmerung* with the overpopulation motif in the plan of Zeus that informs the *Iliad* in Clay 1999.

[31] An anonymous reader points out that πολλόν could also be taken to emphasise the magnitude of the task, or even adverbially: 'make an utter end' (Evelyn-White's translation in the Loeb series).

[32] Cf. Koenen 1994: 27: 'Attribution of the first of these motives [i.e. to reduce surplus population on earth] to a god is less appropriate for the rather sparsely settled lands of the Greeks and far more at home in the densely populated areas of Mesopotamia and Egypt.'

Thus, the overpopulation motif reveals its full significance within a cosmogonic framework. In making Gaia's cause his own, Zeus's strategy relieves Earth of her excessive burden; simultaneously, it distances the gods from their mortal offspring as the gods gradually withdraw from their commerce with men. Henceforth, the inequality of status between immortal gods and mortal men cannot be bridged, and remains eternally fixed.[33] Cerutti has aptly called the two prongs of Zeus's plan 'ecological hygiene' and 'theological hygiene'.[34] Zeus's house-cleaning, then, has both a cosmological and a theological component and encompasses far more than the slaughter of the heroes indicated by his *prophasis*; it inaugurates our era by reducing the excessive population of the earth and bringing the cosmogonic process, which began from Gaia's primal efflorescence, to a close; at the same time, it renders permanent the gulf separating the eternal gods from ephemeral mortals.

It is difficult to ascertain exactly what happens in the tantalisingly fragmentary lines 105–23 that follow; none of the various reconstructions proposed is completely persuasive. Without rehearsing them all, I will merely put forth some suggestions and a possible interpretation, all the while acknowledging that they are necessarily speculative. We seem to return to the main narrative, perhaps to Aulis, where the Greek expedition has gathered.[35] Those taking part in the expedition have in a sense already been enumerated, since the warriors who participate on the Greek side are identical to the suitors of Helen who had taken an oath to defend her. Someone, whom I believe to be Calchas, pronounces a prophecy, for it is he who knows '[what was and] is and what things were going to happen' (113, cf. *Iliad* 1.70), as well as (?) what the mind of Zeus devises and exalts (114–15).[36] There is some sort of warning: no one should set sail (110–11), perhaps before the sacrifice of Iphigeneia (mentioned in the *Catalogue* as Iphimede in fr. 23.17–24). The one who is 'mightiest in strength' (line 111) might be Achilles, whom Calchas is supposed to have sent for, since he knew that Achilles' presence was an essential condition for the taking of Troy.[37]

[33] Cf. Nagy 1999: 220: 'besides entailing the death of heroes in the Trojan War . . . the Will of Zeus also entails *the permanent separation of gods and men*' (Nagy's italics).

[34] Cerutti 1998: 166, but she does not recognise the cosmogonic pattern in the overpopulation motif.

[35] Cf. Stiewe 1963: 10.

[36] Cerutti 1998: 147 and West 1961: 119 follow Wilamowitz (in Schubart and Wilamowitz 1907: 42–3) in making the subject Apollo. Stiewe 1963: 10–12 suggests Agamemnon, who also misunderstands Zeus's prophecy at the beginning of *Iliad* 2.

[37] Cf. Apollodorus 3.13.8. Apollodorus frequently uses the *Catalogue* as his source. If βίηφι is the correct supplement at line 111, then it cannot refer to Agamemnon, as Stiewe 1963 claims. But it would fit nicely with the notice of Achilles' absence among the suitors of Helen in lines 87–92. In the opening of the *Cypria*, the birth of *both* Helen and Achilles are essential to the fulfilment of Zeus's plan.

Lines 118–19 parallel the opening of the *Iliad*; but we need not posit a direct allusion or imitation, for they seem to have a traditional connection to the Trojan War and to Zeus's plans (cf. *Iliad* 11.55). But neither the prophet nor someone else, perhaps Agamemnon, understood the full import of Zeus's plan, but instead he rejoiced, not comprehending its dire consequences.[38]

In yet another abrupt shift, we get a dramatic description of a storm sent by Zeus that stirs up the sea, destroys vegetation and saps men's strength. West calls these lines 'the finest passage of poetry yet known from the *Catalogue*' and suggests that they should be interpreted as 'the first autumn', introducing a radical change in the world.[39] West thus argues that not only sailing and warfare but also the seasons were absent from the heroic period. Yet the *Catalogue* clearly attests to the presence of the first two,[40] and there is no reason to exclude the existence of seasonal change from the poem. It seems far simpler to link this description to the famous storm at Aulis that delayed the Greek expedition.[41]

Equally sudden is the transition to a lengthy description in the present tense of a snake in spring that every third year gives birth to three young and avoids the path of men; but when winter comes on, it lies all coiled up.[42] Zeus destroys the dread serpent with his bolts, but its spirit remains. In the spring, however, she – for it turns out that the serpent is female – returns to the light and apparently gives birth to triplets in the following spring (124–39).[43] The cycle of births appears to recur three times (cf. line 162) and may parallel the nine sparrows devoured by the snake at Aulis as explicated by Calchas in the second book of the *Iliad*.[44] Both would appear to allude to the nine-year duration of the war at Troy before the city falls in the tenth. But in addition to presaging the course of the war, the omen of

[38] The motif of the misunderstood prophecy is, of course, a common one; but Agamemnon's failure to understand its full import is reminiscent of his role in *Odyssey* 8.73–82, where he apparently misunderstands a prophecy delivered by Apollo at Delphi before the beginning of the Trojan War. In addition, Book 1 of the *Iliad* alludes to a tension between Agamemnon and Calchas involving a prophecy.

[39] West 1961; 133. Cf. Mayer 1996: 2–3. Nagy 1999: 220 n. 5 believes the passage is metaphoric: 'men die much as leaves fall from trees'.

[40] Fr. 205 mentions that the Myrmidons invented sailing, and fr. 204.59 credits Idomeneus with sailing from Crete.

[41] Cf. Aeschylus, *Agamemnon* 192–204. West 1961: 120 n. 207 draws a parallel with the storms that delayed the Greeks at Aulis, but he still assumes that the heroes have been removed to the Isles of the Blessed (fr. 204.102–3).

[42] Lerza 1983: 117–20 connects v. 128 to v. 129 and thus sees an *aprosdoketon* in setting the description of what seems to be an autumnal storm in the spring. Much simpler would be to place a full stop at line 128. Line 131 might begin with τῆμος.

[43] West 1985a: 120 sees a parallel between the regeneration of the snake and the heroes.

[44] Cf. ἐνν[at v. 175. West notes that the openings of lines 176–7 seem to parallel *Works and Days* 90–1, but in the *Works and Days* the lines have nothing to do with the heroes or the Isles of the Blessed.

the serpent sloughing off its skin and giving birth can also be understood as an emblem of the cosmic *Zeitwende*, with the end of the old order and the inauguration of something new. Yet there is also an element of continuity: the serpent herself appears to survive. Zeus had blasted the snake with his thunderbolts, much as he had destroyed the heroes. But the *psyche* (139) that is left behind still has the power of regeneration, perhaps of a new race of men, the race of iron. Now, according to the *Works and Days*, this race does not represent a new creation, but represents a measure of continuity with the heroes after the gods have distanced themselves from mankind. But only in the *Catalogue* does the twilight of the heroes signify a return to the *status quo ante*, ὡς τὸ πάρος περ. The *Catalogue*, then, spans the heroic age, from the first generation sprung from Pyrrha and Deucalion to the last; it concludes with Troy's destruction and the demise of the heroes, in accordance with Zeus's plans.

CHAPTER 3

Gods among men? The social and political dynamics of the Hesiodic Catalogue of Women

Elizabeth Irwin

On what occasions was the *Catalogue of Women* performed? What might it have meant for the audiences for whom it was performed? These are questions for which there is no scholarly consensus: the tattered state of this once monumental and influential poem seems to have warded off most attempts at sustained speculation.[1] These questions invite no conclusive answers, but nor are they the kind that will or should go away, and at the outset I would like to acknowledge the speculative nature of the conclusions this article will draw about locating the *Catalogue* in its wider archaic cultural context. In what follows, I hope to demonstrate an aspect of the *Catalogue* that has not been fully appreciated, its strong intertextual relationship with sympotic poetry, and to pursue the possible consequences – social, political and performative – of this intertextuality.

Given that the symposium has dominated studies of the politics and poetics of archaic Greece for the last two decades, it might have seemed inevitable for a sympotic reading of the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* to emerge.[2] That it has not seems due to the fact that more obvious attributes of the *Catalogue* have destined it for other contexts of analysis: that of oral-formulaic poetry, the natural *comparandum* for an archaic hexameter poem.[3] In what follows, I by no means deny the appropriateness of such comparisons; on the contrary, they are where we must begin; but with a poem like the *Catalogue*, very much *sui generis*, it is important to consider the possibility of multiple influences and generic fusion.

In this context of generic fusion, the most stimulating article in recent years on the *Catalogue* has been Ian Rutherford's argument for what he calls

[1] The exceptions are those who have concerned themselves most closely with the dating and geographical origin of the poem: West 1985a: 168–71, Athens of the late sixth century; Fowler 1998: 1, ca. 580; Hall 1997: 50, mid-sixth century; in contrast, Janko 1982 places it nearer the traditional dating of Hesiod. See Hall 2002: 238–9.

[2] For recent work on the symposium, cf. Murray 1990, Schmitt-Pantel 1985, and, most recently, Węcowski 2002b.

[3] See Meier 1976, Cantilena 1979, Cohen 1989–90.

the 'generic archaeology' of the poem. He takes as his starting-point the apparent tension the *Catalogue* exhibits between its two most prominent organising features, the repeated *ehoie* ('or such a one') formula and the genealogical superstructure. These formal features appear to pull in contrary directions, 'since individual stories are not introduced as examples but rather as integral sections contributing to an organic whole', namely, the genealogy: a contradiction seems to exist between the repeated formula ἢ ᾽οἵη and the overall plan of the work.[4] Rutherford uses the image of centrifugal and centripetal motion to contrast them;[5] one might also think of them as the horizontal and vertical thrust of the text. He argues that the tension arises from the poem's evolution: the *Catalogue* represents the fusion of two earlier genres, genealogical poetry and non-genealogical catalogues of women using the *ehoie* formula. It is the next step in his argument that will furnish my point of departure: considering the conflict between these organising elements insupportable, Rutherford posits that one element must no longer be exerting a force on the text and audience, and concludes that the dominance of the genealogical framework recommended the *ehoie* formula for early retirement. Now a vestigial formal element, the formula merely reveals the poem's generic antecedents, without further impact on its audience.

As a nuanced response to the formal features of the poem, Rutherford's generic archaeology has much to offer. What this article will challenge, however, is the specific conclusion that the *ehoie* formula is in fact atrophied in the context of this genealogical poem, and the more general underlying assumption that the tension between the poem's organising principles need be resolved at all. Rather than remove the tension, I will argue that it is a key to revealing the ideological thrust of the poem. Placed within a different framework, the genealogical and paradigmatic aspects of the *Ehoiai* are complementary. And that framework is derived from occasion. At present, the only suggestions for the performance of the *Ehoiai* or its antecedent parts have been in the context of heroine cults or as aretalogies of the gods, both of which have amounted to interpretative cul-de-sacs.[6] As I will argue, there is a strong case for interpreting the *Catalogue* through the performance context of the symposium – an interpretation that will unify the linguistic, thematic, social and political orientations of the poem. This reading also challenges the implicit assumption of a single uniform audience response to the elements of the poem.

[4] Rutherford 2000: 83. [5] Rutherford 2000: 93. [6] Cf. Rutherford 2000: 88.

The argument will proceed in five stages. In the first three sections, I demonstrate, with particular emphasis on the proem and the wooing of Helen, that subject-matter, linguistic detail, and formal elements of the poem align the *Catalogue* more closely to sympotic poetry and the worldview it promoted than to canonical archaic *epea*. Discussion of these more obvious features of the poem leads to an examination in the final two sections of the contemporary social background presupposed by the mythic narratives of the poem, and of the particular élite ideology that the formal features of the *Catalogue* seem to recapitulate. I begin with more general consideration of the interrelation of the *Catalogue*'s narratives of social stratification and marriage, and then conclude with extensive speculation on whether grounds exist to see the *Catalogue* as engaged more closely with a specifically contemporary Athenian social and political milieu. As I stressed at the beginning, the argument of this article must remain in part speculative, but what I hope will emerge as certain is a recognition that it is through the exercise of introducing more possibilities than are presently explored that a more accurate, or at least appreciative, approach to this frankly overwhelming text will emerge. At the very least, the invitation to scrutinise the text more carefully, to generate more questions and explore more possibilities, can hardly be wrong.

BEGINNINGS

What kind of poem is advertised by this proem? How does it situate its audience in relation to the subject of this song? The *Catalogue* begins:

νῦν δὲ γυναικῶν φῦλον ἀείσατε, ἡδυέπειαι
Μοῦσαι Ὀλυμπιάδες, κοῦραι Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο
αἳ τότ' ἄρισται ἔσαν[
μίτρας τ' ἀλλύσαντο .[
μισγόμεναι θεοῖ̣ς̣[ιν
ξυναὶ γὰρ τότε δαῖτες ἔσαν, ξυνοὶ δὲ θόωκοι
ἀθανάτοις τε θεοῖσι καταθνητοῖς τ' ἀνθρώποις.
οὐδ' ἄρα ἰσαίωνες ομ[
ἀνέρες ἠδὲ γυναῖκες ε[
ὀ̣σ̣σόμεν[ο]ι φρ[εσὶ] γῆρ[ας
οἳ μὲν δηρὸν ε.[. .] κ .[
ἠΐ̈[θ]ε̣οι, τοὺς δ' εἶθ̣[αρ] ε̣.[
ἀ[θ]ά̣νατ̣οι̣ [νε]ότητ̣[
τ̣ά̣ω̣ν ἔσπετε Μ[οῦσαι
ὅσσ[αι]ς δὴ π̣αρελ[έξατ' Ὀλυμπιος εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς
σπερμαίνων τὰ πρῶτα γένος κυδρῶν βασιλήων,

.]ς τε̣ Π̣[ο]σειδάω[ν
. . . . . .]ν τ᾽Ἄρης [
. . . . . .] . η̣ι̣ . ιντ[
. . . .] .ο̣τοσπ[
. . . . . . .Ἑ]ρμῆς .[
. . . .] βίη Ἡ[ρακλῆος

Now sing the tribe of women, sweet-voiced
Muses of Olympus, daughters of aegis-holding Zeus,
who at that time were the best . . .
and they loosened their girdles . . .
mixing with the gods . . .
For then were the feasts common, and the seats shared
of immortal gods and mortal men.
But they were not at all of equal vitality . . .
men and women . . . [they were]
envisaging old age in their minds . . .
They were for a long time . . .
of marrying age, but all at once them . . .
the immortals . . . youth . . .
Of these tell, Muses, . . .
how many indeed far-seeing Zeus bedded
sowing for the first time the race of exalted kings;
. . . and Poseidon . . .
. . . and Ares . . .
. . . Hermes . . .
. . . strength of [Heracles] . . .[7]

Whatever else it may tell audiences (particularly academic) about mythic family trees, this poem is (at least as well, if not more) a poem that narrates, repeatedly, the sexual liaisons of males of demonstrably superior status, the gods, who have free and frequent access to female figures of a distinctly and significantly lower order of existence, mortals, though these women are the best (ἄρισται) at that time; it bears testimony to the efficacy of their seed – as Poseidon says in fr. 31, τέξεις δ᾽ ἀγλαὰ τέκ]να, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἀποφώ[λιοι εὐναὶ | ἀθανάτων (‘You will bear glorious children, for not barren are the beds of the immortals’). At the same time, it is a poem that, in showing these powerful males begetting offspring, itself engenders hierarchies: not only does the poem assert that the efficacy of divine seed has political and social implications – from it came the ‘race of exalted kings’ (γένος κυδρῶν βασιλήων, line 16), mortals of the highest possible status – but within the

[7] For reconstructions and interpretations of the proem see: Treu 1957; Schwartz 1960: 435–6; West 1961; Stiewe 1962; Merkelbach 1968a; Schmitt 1975. See also the discussion below, pp. 52–6.

time-frame of the genealogical narrative, gods and men may share some things (ξυναὶ γὰρ τότε δαῖτες ἔσαν, ξυνοὶ δὲ θόωκοι, 'Then were the feasts common, and the seats shared', 6), but there are crucial respects in which they are in no way equal, as is clear in what immediately follows: line 7 underscores the different natures of those brought together by these meals (ἀθανάτοις τε θεοῖσι καταθνητοῖς τ' ἀνθρώποις, 'of immortal gods and mortal men'), and the one unambiguous point of line 7 is that all is definitely not equal among this community of male actors (οὐδ' ἄρα ἰσαίωνες, 'but they were not at all of equal vitality', 8) – the trappings may be (δαῖτες, θόωκοι), but not their natures.[8]

These points tend to be underappreciated by scholarship on the poem, in which the fragmentary state of such a manifestly elaborate geneaological structure provides substantial and understandable distractions; but these points are crucial to exploring the social and political implications of the whole poem, and a potential performance context of, at least, the *ehoie* element of the *Catalogue*. Two aspects of the proem, confirmed by the ensuing poem, suggest a strong intertextuality with sympotic culture, as I will demonstrate more fully in the sections to follow. First, from a synchronic perspective, the focus on males of a higher order freely engaging in sexual liaisons with women of a lower order provides an apt mythic model upon which to map the relationship of male symposiasts and their liaisons with beautiful and desirable *hetairai*. At the same time, the contrasting success and ease of different orders of males, gods and men, configured through their access to women, produces a stratified world that can be read as valorising an élite defined by their capacities.[9] I shall return to the vocabulary and themes in the poem that lend support to this claim. Secondly, from a diachronic perspective, such liaisons between gods and women featured within aristocrats' narratives of their own ancestry, or rather, subsets of the *agathoi* claimed such unions to have been part of their pedigree, to have contributed to marking them as an élite. Moreover, there is of course the general tendency for genealogies and marriage, the two themes of this poem, to be concerns of more pressing interest and consequence to a social and political élite. Therefore, what from a strictly literary perspective appears to be a contradiction, a tension requiring resolution, is from a particular social and political perspective totally reconcilable, sustainable, and moreover desirable.

[8] For ἰσαίωνες cf. below, p. 54 n. 60.

[9] See the timely comments of Obbink 2004: 175–6. For aptness of entitlement as an aspect of élite ideology, see Van Wees 1992: esp. 69–89, and Rose 1992: 61–4.

The erotic language of the Catalogue*: sympotic connections*

I want first to focus on the language of the proem. What emerges is a much racier poem than is usually acknowledged, and one with (in some respects) stronger connections to language more at home in sympotic lyric than in extant *epea*, and subject-matter perfectly appropriate to the symposium.

What does an audience expect from the announcement that the poem's subject will be the γυναικῶν φῦλον? φῦλα γυναικῶν will provide a recurrent standard of comparison in the *Catalogue* to highlight the beauty of its current subject, particularly in the formula εἶδει ἐκαίνυτο φῦλα γυναικῶν ('she surpassed the tribes of women in her form', frr. 96.2, 180.10, 251a.9, or more superlatively for Alcmene, ἣ ῥα γυναικῶν φῦλον ἐκαίνυτο θηλυτεράων/εἴδεΐ τε μεγέθει τε, 'she surpassed the tribe of women in both her form and her stature', *Aspis* 4).[10] The invocation to sing of the tribe of women no doubt responds to the conclusion of the *Theogony* when the subject turns to the θεάων φῦλον who bedded with mortal men to produce children similar to gods:

> νῦν δὲ θεάων φῦλον ἀείσατε, ἡδυέπειαι
> Μοῦσαι Ὀλυμπιάδες, κοῦραι Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο,
> ὅσσαι δὴ θνητοῖσι παρ' ἀνδράσιν εὐνηθεῖσαι
> ἀθάναται γείναντο θεοῖς ἐπιείκελα τέκνα.
>
> Now sing the tribe of goddesses, sweet-voiced ones,
> Muses of Olympus, daughters of Zeus who holds the aegis,
> how many immortal ones lay with mortal men
> and bore god-like children.[11]

But the singing of the φῦλον γυναικῶν may equally bring a different set of Hesiodic associations, a different Hesiodic reading of the tribes of women (ὀλώιόν ἐστι γένος καὶ φῦλα γυναικῶν, 'deadly is the race and tribes of women', *Theog.* 591), particularly in a poem exploiting the space between the worlds of the *Theogony* and the *Works and Days*, and when the temporal adverb νῦν in v. 1 is allowed to exert its force over two lines before its contrast in τότε is encountered? In the νῦν of (some of) the *Catalogue*'s audience, the φῦλα of 'iron-age' women is a subject for sympotic contexts, as illustrated by poems like Semonides 7 and Phocylides 2.[12] Will such an invocation exclude or will it rather activate such resonances for those in the audience familiar with sympotic culture?

[10] Cf. *Il.* 9.130, 272.
[11] On the invocations and transitions at the end of the *Theogony*, see West 1966 on vv. 963–8 and 1019.
[12] On Semonides 7, see Osborne 2001.

The women who will be sung of are αἳ τότ' ἄρισται ('the women at that time best'). However that line may have ended, full clarification of this evaluation is only to come in subsequent lines, where they will be identified simply by the elevated status of those with whom they have 'mixed'. These women are not, in contrast to their depiction in the catalogue of the *Nekuia*, introduced by any of the proper social coordinates of women, as daughters and wives of men who are characterised as ἄριστοι ('the best') – ὅσσαι ἀριστήων ἄλοχοι ἔσαν ἠδὲ θύγατρες ('as many were the wives and daughters of the best men', *Od.* 11.227) – despite the fact that these catalogues otherwise share several of the same characters and their formulaic descriptions. Instead, these ἄρισται ('best women') are plunged immediately into an erotic context. As early as line 4, the poet undresses his female subjects in language common to erotic contexts: μίτρας ἀλλύσαντο ('they loosened their girdles').[13] In line 5, we turn to the sexual act itself, μισγόμεναι ('mixing'), in participle form, the fragmentary nature of the line leaving ample room for greater detail and our imaginations. The sexual encounters with these ἄρισται are followed in line 6 by the prominent declaration about feasting: ξυναὶ γὰρ τότε δαῖτες ἔσαν, ξυνοὶ δὲ θόωκοι. In a period seeing the appearance of several ξυν – compounds related to commensality and above all drinking, one might well ask what the associations and connotations would be of foregrounding δαῖτες that are ξυναί.[14] At first glance, nothing may seem so very unusual about this line, but the phrasing ξυν – γάρ . . . ξυν – δέ is extremely rare, as Clauss has observed, and the sequence of the proem, in particular the use of γάρ, goes some way to suggesting that these ξυναὶ δαῖτες 'may even have provided the occasion for such sexual encounters.'[15] Of course, the events of the *Catalogue* will show otherwise, but the issue here is one of initial orientation. At the least, the sequence of the *Catalogue* presents the time in which δαῖτες and θόωκοι were shared as identical with the time in which these sexual liaisons between gods and mortal women took place, as the repetition of τότε makes clear.[16]

[13] Cf. *Od.* 11.245–6 (Tyro and Poseidon) λῦσε δὲ παρθενίην ζώνην, κατὰ δ' ὕπνον ἔχευεν. | αὐτὰρ ἐπεί ῥ' ἐτέλεσσε θεὸς φιλοτήσια ἔργα . . . ('he loosened her maiden's girdle and was pouring sleep over her. Then when the god accomplised his acts of love . . .').

[14] For συν – compounds evoking the symposia and *hetaireiai*, see for instance, Alcaeus 70.3 Voigt, 368.2 Voigt, Solon 4.22, Phocylides 14.1, Theognis 496, Anacreon fr. eleg. 2 West, *PMG* 902 etc. On the sympotic connotations of συν – compounds, see: Snell 1965: 64–79, esp. 71–2; Murray 1983: 266; Węcowski 2000b: 349–50, and more generally Trümpf 1973: 139–60 and Rösler 1983: 33–6.

[15] Clauss 1990: 129–30, cf. Hunter (this volume) pp. 247–8.

[16] Schmitt 1975: 21–3; cf. Stiewe 1962: 297 and Treu 1957: 177.

Lines 8–13 linger over an imagined absence of old age, the lengthened presence of vigorous, marriageable, youth.[17] The detail is otherwise unnecessary, but fits exceedingly well with the themes of lyric poetry: men for a long time ἠΐθεοι would appeal especially to the likes of a Mimnermus (e.g. frr. 1–5W) and those who sang his poetry at their symposia.[18] Finally, the description of Zeus (and presumably the other gods in the fragmentary lines that follow) suggests a celebration of their virility, as implicit in the concrete element of the verb σπερμαίνω. The indefinite relative pronoun, ὅσσαις, enumerates those who were the objects of Zeus' prodigious sexual activity, and presumably also those of each of the gods mentioned afterwards. With its connotations of 'notches in the bedpost', this formulation reads quite differently from the comparable passage in *Theogony* 965–8 quoted above, emphasising the actual unions at least as much as the offspring that they produced.[19]

The verbs used of Zeus' unions are suggestive. παραλέχομαι, 'bed on the side', is overwhelmingly applied to descriptions of secret sex or erotically charged sexual encounters, often those including deception.[20] The fragments of the *Catalogue* use it only in one other place, to represent the classic adulterous liaison between Clytemnestra and Aigisthos (fr. 176.6–7): ὣς δὲ Κλυταιμήστρη <προ>λιποῦσ' Ἀγαμέμνονα δῖον/ Αἰγίσθωι παρέλεκτο καὶ εἵλετο χείρον' ἀκοίτην ('And having left noble Agamemnon, Clytemnestra lay with Aigisthos and chose a worse bedfellow'). These connotations of the verb are confirmed in hexameter poetry by the formulaic παρελέξατο λάθρηι, as perhaps most clearly shown in the story of Eudorus in *Iliad* 16.181–4:

> παρθένιος, τὸν τίκτε χορῶι καλὴ Πολυμήλη,
> Φύλαντος θυγάτηρ· τῆς δὲ κρατὺς Ἀργειφόντης
> ἠράσατ', ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἰδὼν μετὰ μελπομένησιν
> ἐν χορῶι Ἀρτέμιδος χρυσηλακάτου κελαδεινῆς·
> αὐτίκα δ' εἰς ὑπερῶι' ἀναβὰς παρελέξατο λάθρηι.

The son of an unwed mother, whom Polymele, beautiful in the dance, daughter of Phylas, bore. Of her the strong Argeiphontes became enamoured, when with his eyes he saw her amid the singing maidens in the dance of Artemis, huntress of

[17] *LfgrE s.v.* ἠΐθεος. [18] See Schmitt 1975: 27.

[19] See Stiewe 1962: 295 on the 'less stereotyped form' of the *Catalogue* proem in comparison to the *Theogony* verses.

[20] *Il.* 2.512, 6.198, 16.181–4, 20.223–4, *Od.* 11.241–2, *HHAph.* 167, Hes. *Theog.* 278–9, fr. 176.6–7. The one possibly exceptional use in connection with Briseis at *Iliad* 24.675–6 raises some interesting questions: are we being reminded that Briseis is after all a concubine – an allusion to all the suffering instigated by a woman of slave status, and a different perspective on Achilles' rhetoric of marriage in Book 9?

the golden arrows that resound. Straightaway he went up into her upper chamber and lay with her in secret.[21]

παραλέχομαι is also used of the archetypal erotic (and deceptive) encounter, that of Aphrodite and Anchises, in the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* (167, ἀθανάτῃ παρέλεκτο θεᾶι βροτός, οὐ σάφα εἰδώς, 'He bedded an immortal goddess, a mortal man, knowing nothing clearly') and also of the erotic encounter of *Theog.* 278–9 (τῆι δὲ μιῆι παρελέξ-ατο Κυανοχαίτης | ἐν μαλακῶι λειμῶνι καὶ ἄνθεσιν εἰαρινοῖσιν, 'with one of these sisters Poseidon lay in a soft meadow and amid the spring flowers'); this last is the only use both of the word and of the erotic *topos* of the *locus amoenus* in the canonical Hesiod (*Theogony* or *Works and Days*).

The phrase σπερμαίνων τὰ πρῶτα γένος κυδρῶν βασιλήων ('sowing for the first time the race of exalted kings') also deserves attention.[22] The verb is extremely rare in poetry, and in archaic poetry is used only here and in *WD* 735–6: μηδ' ἀπὸ δυσφήμοιο τάφου ἀπονοστήσαντα | σπερμαίνειν γενεήν, ἀλλ' ἀθανάτων ἀπὸ δαιτός ('coming home from an ill-omened burial do not have sex, but from a feast of the immortals').[23] The denominative verb is explicit, focusing as it does on the emission of seed. 'Sowing' is, however, not quite right as a translation because the word is not used in agricultural contexts, but 'begetting' is also not quite appropriate: the phrase σπερμαίνων τὰ πρῶτα γένος κυδρῶν βασιλήων, like σπερμαίνειν γενεήν, depicts the engendering of offspring in two stages, rendering the sexual act as a distinct linguistic entity from its consequence (the *genos*) – a consequence, however, certainly guaranteed only in the case of the gods.[24] In Hesiod's admonition of *Works and Days* lie condensed two ideas, both associated with mortality: one is the impurity associated with bodily emissions, the other the reminder that γενεή is a potential outcome of mortal intercourse, and therefore any association of it with

[21] Cf. Ares' sexual liaison with Astyoche in *Il.* 2.509–12.

[22] See Renehan 1986 for the restoration of this line from Maximus of Tyre 35.2 (p. 403.6 Holbein).

[23] On the rarity, see Renehan 1986: 221. The verb is most at home in medical prose.

[24] Hofinger 1975: *s.v.* σπερμαίνω translates it simply as 'procréer', but this is only a possible consequence of the successful act; a survey of the usages shows that this meaning only follows with an appropriate object (e.g. eunuchs σπερμαίνουσι, according to Rufus, *de partibus corporis humani* 58.4; as, for some, do females, Galen *de usu partium* 4.166.7 Kühn). Moreover the verb ἀποσπερμαίνω denotes ejaculation, but as ἀπο-suggests, outside the womb (e.g. Athena and Hephaestus, Apollodorus *Bibl.* 3.188.7, or the dung-beetle, *Suda s.v.* κάνθαρος). Finally, it is significant to note differences in tense: the only other poetic appearance before late antiquity (Callimachus fr. 652 Pf.) uses the aorist (cf. Nonn. *Dionys.* 13.202, 46.244) and therefore already points to the time after the emission of seed, i.e. to the successful consequence of the past act denoted by σπερμαίνω.

death would be inauspicious.[25] Of course, the context of this admonition, its application to mortals, governs its connection to mortality, but there is room to ask whether this word is used in the *Catalogue* precisely to emphasise the anthropomorphism of the gods performing the act, as the premise to the whole narrative focus of the *Catalogue*: apart from the single use in Callimachus, the application of the word or its compounds to the gods is rare, and *eros* is famously the shared experience of gods and men.[26] At the least, one may be certain of the focus placed on the sexual act by this rare word.

The proem's promise of a sexual poem is fulfilled in what ensues: the encounters in the *Catalogue* are not merely instrumental to procreation. On the contrary, and in contrast to the overall character of the sexual unions of the *Theogony*, the *Catalogue* savours aesthetic detail: golden Aphrodite is a persistent figure in the poem, whether reference is to females having an *eidos* similar to that of golden Aphrodite, to Aphrodite's gifts, etc. Common epithets are χρυσέη, πολύχρυσος, χρυσοστέφανος, and φιλομμειδής.[27]

More significant is the fact that erotic vocabulary more natural to sympotic poetry than to hexameter permeates the poem: the phrase Χαρίτων ἀμαρύγματ' ἔχουσα, 'having the bright sparkle of the Graces', appears five times in our extant fragments (frr. 43a.4, 70.38, 73.3, 185.20, 196.6). The word ἀμάρυγμα appears nowhere else in archaic poetry,[28] except in the erotic lyric of Sappho:

> τᾶς κε βολλοίμαν ἔρατόν τε βᾶμα
> κἀμάρυχμα λάμπρον ἴδην προσώπω
> ἢ τὰ Λύδων ἄρματα κἀν ὅπλοισι
> πεσδομάχεντας.

I would rather see her lovely step and the bright sparkle of her face than the chariots of the Lydians and their armed infantry.[29]

Another apparently sympotic term appears in the narrative of the daughters of Porthaon in fr. 26, when they are called νυμφάων καλλιπ[λο]κάμ[ω]ν̣ συν̣ο̣π̣η̣δ̣οί 'companions of the beautiful-haired Nymphs'. At first glance,

[25] See Parker 1983: 53 on death and childbirth, and 76–7 on this section of Hesiod and the 'dirtiness' of sexual emissions; cf. also the wider context of *WD* 724–59.

[26] On sexuality as the area in which gods most demonstrate their anthropomorphism, their shared helplessness, see Detienne and Sissa 2000: 36–40.

[27] Frr. 23.35, 26.13, 30.25, 76.6 + 10, 176.1, 185.17*, 196.5*, 221.3, 253.3, and cf. Osborne (this volume). One would like to imagine significance in the single appearance of φιλομμειδής in connection with the adulterous Tyndaridae of fr. 176. See also the erotic description of Atlanta in fr. 75.

[28] See Cohen 1989–90: 22 on the uniqueness of this phrase in epic poetry.

[29] Sappho 16. Ap. Rhod. 3.286–90 (cf. 4.847) demonstrates a Hellenistic appreciation of the erotic charge of this word.

the phrase may seem formulaic and the application of the term συνοπηδοί to these girls may seem unremarkable, but, as Cohen notes, this line is unique in hexameter poetry.[30] The details that follow describe these girls as gadding about unmarried in the mountains, explicitly said to have left the home of their father and to have left their mother, rejoicing in their beauty and their ignorance/foolishness (vv. 16–21):[31]

μάκρ᾽ ο̣[ὔρεα οἰ]κ̣είουσαι,
δώματ[α λείπο]υσαι π̣[ατρὸς καὶ μητ]έ̣ρα κεδνήν.
αἳ ῥα τότ᾽ ε̣[ἴ]δει ἀγαλ[λόμεναι καὶ ἀϊδ]ρείησιν
ἀμφὶ περὶ κ̣ρ . . . . . .[ἀργ]υροδίνεω
ἠέριαι στε̣ῖ̣βο̣[ν ἐέρ]σ̣ην
ἄνθεα μαι[ό]εν[αι κεφαλῆις εὐώ]δε̣α κόσμον·

. . . inhabiting the great mountains,
leaving the home of their father and their dear mother
who then vaunted in their beauty and their ignorance
. . . around. . . silver-eddying . . .
in the early morning they trampled . . . dewy
eager for flowers as a fragrant adornment of their heads.

On closer analysis, συνοπηδός is itself a rare word in poetry and elsewhere.[32] Apart from the use in Pythagoras, appearances of this word in archaic poetry are all related to the symposium. These sympotic associations seem confirmed by Panyassis 16.12–13 Bernabé (= *EGF* 12) οἶνος γὰρ πυρὶ ἶσον ἐπιχθονίοισιν ὄνειαρ, | ἐσθλόν, ἀλεξίκακον, πάσης **συνοπηδὸν** ἀοιδῆς ('wine is a boon to men who walk the earth, equal to fire, a splendid thing, a relief from evil, a companion of every song', 12–13), and by the poet Telestes (810 *PMG*):

πρῶτοι παρὰ κρατῆρας Ἑλλάνων ἐν αὐλοῖς
συνοπαδοὶ Πέλοπος Ματρὸς ὀρείας
Φρύγιον ἄεισαν νόμον·

First around the mixing-bowls of the Greeks the companions of Pelops sang accompanied by pipes the Phrygian tune of the mountain Mother.

Given the associations of this word with the symposium, if a girl is a συνοπηδός, it would suggest she is a sympotic companion, a *hetaira*. It

[30] Cohen 1989–90: 22.

[31] For the promiscuity of girls in the absence of their mothers, see Archilochus 196A West.

[32] Panyassis 16.13, Telestes *PMG* 810, Pythagoras, *Carmen Aureum* 59 (of *eris*), Ap. Rhod. *Argo.* 4.745. Otherwise, Plato, *Sophist* 216b.2, *Phaedrus* 248c.3. All other appearances of the word either quote these passages or are late – second century AD and beyond – and heavily influenced by the earlier philosophical application.

would seem likely that to apply this term to these girls is precisely to suggest their sexual availability, as Apollo's subsequent response confirms.[33]

Meanwhile, the other pleasures of the symposium will not be absent from this poem, nor the warnings about excessive drink common to sympotic poetry:

> οἷα Διώνυσος δῶκ' ἀνδράσι χάρμα καὶ ἄχθος.
> ὅστις ἄδην πίνηι, οἶνος δέ οἱ ἔπλετο μάργος,
> σὺν δὲ πόδας χεῖράς τε δέει γλῶσσάν τε νόον τε
> δεσμοῖς ἀφράστοισι, φιλεῖ δέ ἑ μαλθακὸς ὕπνος.

Such did Dionysus give to men as a joy and a burden. Whoever drinks too much, for him wine is madness, and it binds all together his feet and hands, his tongue and mind with fetters he cannot comprehend [or that render him speechless], and soft sleep loves him.[34]

It would be difficult to distinguish between the sentiments here and those expressed in Theognis.[35]

I want to turn to one final linguistic pecularity of the proem that will effect the transition to a more cultural and political interpretation of the poem. I return to the proem and to the phrase κυδρῶν βασιλήων ('exalted kings', fr. 1.16). Again, the phrase seems unremarkable, but on further analysis it emerges as otherwise unattested. In fact, κυδρός is restricted almost exclusively to female deities: it appears only in the feminine in Homer and Hesiod, applied to 'major goddesses closely linked with Zeus',[36] barring a single use for the unnamed mortal woman whom Athena prophesies Telemachus will marry (*Od.* 15.26); in the hymns, it is applied only once to a male divinity (*HHHermes* 461). The only other male in archaic poetry to receive this title is Polydeuces (Alcman 2.7 *PMG*): in so far as he is the son of Zeus, this is the only use that is comparable to the *Catalogue*, but that he alone of the Tyndaridae is thus distinguished seems to confirm

[33] West 1966: 759 in passing recognises these girls as 'wayward daughters'. A sexual reading finds some support in the Apollonian Circe's application of the term to Medea (*Arg.* 4.745).

[34] Fr. 239 (quoted in Athen. 10.428c).

[35] See *Theog.* 211–12, 467–96 (esp. 477–83), 873–6 with Bielohlawek 1940: 19; cf. 497–8, 499–502, 837–40 with Bielohlawek 1940: 27.

[36] Adkins 1985: 191, cf. Hofinger (1975) *s.v.* κυδρός. The single mortal to receive this description in hexameter poetry, Telemachus' future wife, is called κυδρὴ παράκοιτις, a formula otherwise exclusive to consorts of Zeus. Female deities: Hera (*Il.* 18.184, *HHHera* 4, Hes. *Theog.* 328), Leto (*Od.* 11.580), Persephone (*HHDem.* 66), Demeter (*HHDem.* 179, 292), to Athena (*HHAth.* 1), *Dike* (Hes. *Theog.* 257), Hecate (Hes. *Theog.* 442). The single use in tragedy is applied to nymphs as κυδραὶ θεαί (Aesch fr. 355.16, cf. Ap. Rhod. 4.1333). The word is otherwise surprisingly rare. For the exceptionality of the word, see Adkins 1985: 191 'a very powerful word. Indeed, it may be more powerful in the positive – and rare – comparative than in the form assigned as its superlative by LSJ 1968'.

the adjective's elevated and restricted application.[37] Outside the *Catalogue*, only two other instances in archaic poetry apply this adjective to mortal men (albeit in the rarer comparative form), both in sympotic poetry: Xenophanes 2 and Ion of Chios 27 (Athenaeus 11.463b). Ion deals explicitly with sympotic culture and practice:

χαιρέτω ἡμέτερος βασιλεύς, σωτήρ τε πατήρ τε·
ἡμῖν δὲ κρητῆρ᾽ οἰνοχόοι θέραπες
κιρνάντων προχύταισιν ἐν ἀργυρέοις, ὁ δὲ χρυσὸς
οἶνον ἔχων χειρῶν νίζέτω εἰς ἔδαφος
σπένδοντες δ᾽ ἁγνῶς Ἡρακλέι τ᾽ Ἀλκμήνηι τε,
Προκλέι Περσείδαις τ᾽ ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχόμενοι,
πίνωμεν, παίζωμεν· ἴτω διὰ νυκτὸς ἀοιδή,
ὀρχείσθω τις, ἑκὼν δ᾽ ἄρχε φιλοφροσύνης.
ὅντινα δ᾽ εὐειδὴς μίμνει θήλεια πάρευνος,
κεῖνος τῶν ἄλλων κυδρότερον πίεται.

Hail to our king, saviour and father. And for us let the wine-stewards mix a *crater* in silver pitchers . . . Pouring chaste libations to Heracles and Alcmene, Procles and the Perseidae, beginning with Zeus, let us drink, let us play, let song go through the night. Let each man dance. Take the lead in unstinting good cheer and friendliness. And whomever a beautiful woman awaits as a bed-partner, that man will drink more *kudros* than the others.[38]

Note the coincidence of drinking and sexual activity: the promise of the latter encourages one to drink 'more gloriously'. Though the passage does not render the drinker absolutely κυδρός, the application to symposiasts must be seen as both a bold statement, but also one taken for granted in that group's own self-evaluations.[39]

Xenophanes 2 uses the comparative of κυδρός in connection with the values of an élite, a subset of the sympotic class. κυδρότερος represents the defining adjective, or rather the aspirations (ἀστοῖσίν κ᾽ εἴη κυδρότερος προσορᾶν), of that group:

[37] And in the rest of classical and Hellenistic literature, these restrictions seem to prevail: Xenophon provides the only other example – Socrates in his trial applies this term adversatively to Anytos (*Apol.* 29.2) – but that application must be pointed. κύδιστος has somewhat different application: formed from κῦδος, it may have been felt to be a different word (Adkins 1985: 191), but nevertheless it also has restricted usage (see Hofinger 1975 and LSJ *s.v.* κύδιστος): of the gods, overwhelmingly of Zeus (a further element of restricted usage is, as Crosset 1990: 10 notes, that in Homer only men address Zeus as κύδιστε); of mortals, only Agamemnon (12x) and Anchises (2x in the *HHAph.,* 108, 192).

[38] On this fragment, see Leurini 2000: 53–4.

[39] On the genealogical associations of the figures named in lines 5–6 for élite families of Chios, see Welcker 1845: 218.

ἀλλ᾽ εἰ μὲν ταχυτῆτι ποδῶν νίκην τις ἄροιτο
ἢ πενταθλεύων, ἔνθα Διὸς τέμενος
πὰρ Πίσαο ῥοῆις ἐν Ὀλυμπίηι, εἴτε παλαίων
ἢ καὶ πυκτοσύνην ἀλγινόεσσαν ἔχων
εἴτε τὸ δεινὸν ἄεθλον, ὃ παγκράτιον καλέουσιν,
ἀστοῖσίν κ᾽ εἴη κυδρότερος προσορᾶν,
καί κε προεδρίην φανερὴν ἐν ἀγῶσιν ἄροιτο,
καί κεν σῖτ᾽ εἴη δημοσίων κτεάνων
ἐκ πόλεως, καὶ δῶρον ὅ οἱ κειμήλιον εἴη —
εἴτε καὶ ἵπποισιν, ταῦτά κε πάντα λάχοι
οὐκ ἐὼν ἄξιος ὥσπερ ἐγώ· ῥώμης γὰρ ἀμείνων
ἀνδρῶν ἠδ᾽ ἵππων ἡμετέρη σοφίη.

If someone should gain a victory with the swiftness of his feet, or by competing in the pentathlon, where the sanctuary of Zeus lay beside the streams of Pisa in Olympia, or by having the grievous skill of boxing, or that terrible trial which is called the *pankration*, he would be seen as more *kudros* in the eyes of the townspeople, and he would in turn take a conspicuous front seat at the games, and there would be provision for him from the common funds of the city, and he would have a gift to cherish – and even if he should be a victor with his horses, all these things he would receive, even though he is not as worthy as I. For my skill is better than the strength of men and horses.[40]

These are the men who compete in the games and through this aspire to have a (more) exalted status within the polis. The comparative form is effective: while it avoids making a claim to the absolute status of κυδρός – lest it induce divine φθόνος ('envy') – it continually recapitulates the idea of a hierarchy (alluded to, but unspecified), in which the person so called by definition occupies the higher position. Taken together, the κυδρότεροι of Xenophanes and Ion cut quite aristocratic figures: keen participants in the symposium, with available bed-partners, and victorious in the games.[41]

It remains to judge the merit of these comparisons: the precise force of the term κυδρῶν βασιλήων on the constituent groups of its audiences

[40] The only other appearance of this comparative is telling for the class associations: in Bacchylides 1.159–84 proper attention to the gods (to be understood as the proper application of one's wealth to the games) allows one to foster a more glorious expectation – ὁ δ᾽ εὖ ἔρδων θεοὺς ἐλπίδι κυδροτέραι σαίνει κέαρ ('one who does well by the gods encourages his heart with more *kudros* expectations', 164) – a point the poet makes particularly in the face of human mortality (θνατὸς ἐών 'being mortal', 166) and in relation to the immortality gained through victory (vv. 180–4).

[41] By a series of Xenophanic connections, one could imagine these κυδρότεροι listening to the *Catalogue*: this group who subscribe to the κυδρότερος status of those who are victorious in the games, i.e. those who do not recognise the Xenophanic σοφίη, would be the same as those for whom the songs Xenophanes deems unworthy of (yet presumably traditional to) the symposium would be preferred, songs whose subjects the *Catalogue* shares. For analysis and interpretation of Xenophanes 1 and 2W together see Marcovich 1978.

eludes us. What remains unquestionable is that the *Catalogue*'s usage of the adjective is, like so many of its formulations, not typical of hexameter poetry, and indeed unique; and in this situation, the question arises of where one should look when parallels from hexameter poetry do not exist: what did audience members hear – what associations were activated in an audience – when what seemed unformulaic was recited? Their responses need not (nor were they likely to) have been uniform.

Formal elements and performance context: articulating élite ideology

Subject-matter and sympotic language common to archaic lyric characterise our *Catalogue*. This is where one may turn to the formal elements of the poem. As Rutherford is right to observe, the ἢ' οἵη formula needs some explaining in the context of a genealogical poem. The formula certainly performs the functions of providing an extra unifying element to the poem, a kind of refrain, as well as enabling the poet, as West notes, to leap back from the end of one branch of the genealogy to a higher point in an earlier one – that is, a resumptive function.[42]

But these functions do not provide an entire answer, and Rutherford is perhaps right to see the formula as implying an antecedent genre, though it seems to me one that may well be flourishing even in the *Catalogue*'s day. His suggestions for performance context are, however, less persuasive. That the material belongs to cults of heroines sits ill in so far as the material as presented in the *Catalogue* is not particularly encomiastic of women.[43] Comparison with the catalogue in *Odyssey* 11 demonstrates this: in sharp contrast to the *Nekuia*, no woman has a voice here,[44] nor is she allowed *eros* (contrast Tyro in fr. 30.31–4 with *Odyssey* 11.238ff.). In fact, as Robin Osborne's contribution to this volume shows, the range of descriptive adjectives is far narrower in the Hesiodic *Catalogue*, a feature better suggesting the objectification of women than encomium.[45] While women are praised for their beauty, this certainly does not necessarily imply this praise to be an end in itself: the praise of the beauty of a sexual partner is as easily, or *more* easily, construed as praise of the male who penetrates her, rather than the passive female, beautiful or no. Several descriptions of

[42] West 1963: 758–9 and 1985a: 16. See also Cohen 1989–90: 13 and Rutherford 2000: 83–5.

[43] *Pace* Rutherford 2000: 86 and Steinrück 1996. See Lyons 1997: 54–5 for the little interest which the *Catalogue* shows in praising women.

[44] As Rutherford 2000: 88 and 94 himself notes.

[45] Zeus in *Iliad* 14.315–28 demonstrates the instrumentality of the catalogue form: there is some praise of the women in his list, but only in so far as its implicit flattery of Hera will help him achieve his immediate aim.

the *Catalogue*'s women are at least ambiguous – the daughters of Porthaon, Mestra, Atalanta, the Tyndaridae, and even Alcmene; it is not clear that any of these women emerge with better reputations than the female figure of the Cologne Epode of Archilochus, apart from having more impressive (and discreet) partners.[46] Furthermore, if one is right to see the *Nekuia* as incorporating the material of other *epea* and subordinating it to its own epic agenda, as it so clearly does with martial epic by presenting the grandest heroes of the Trojan War – Achilles, Agamemnon and Ajax – in a hapless light, then it may well follow that a similar reversal exists between the catalogue of women in the *Nekuia* and the *Catalogue*: the 'aretalogy' of the women of the *Nekuia* (performed for Arete herself) implies the opposite agenda for the *Catalogue*. Praise of women would not then be the *Catalogue*'s end. The contrast established by the proem between the Muses, known by their powerful father, and women as sexual objects of the gods, known primarily by their sexual partners and the children they bear to them, may be read in this light.[47]

If the erotic liaisons of the *Catalogue* seem appropriate to the symposium, can the same be said of the ἢ οἵη formula? That the scholiast on Pindar says that Pindar derived the story of Cyrene from the Hesiodic *ehoie* about her (ἀπὸ δὲ Ἠοίας Ἡσιόδου, 'from the *ehoie* of Hesiod') and identifies the opening (ἡ ἀρχή) of the *ehoie* suggests that the Hesiodic *Catalogue* could be seen as a collection of smaller units, as Rutherford notes.[48] But contrary to Rutherford's assertion, it is not self-evident that 'an "*ehoie*" could hardly have existed on its own'.[49] The *Aspis* suggests that individual *ehoiai* could indeed gain independence from the *Catalogue* as a whole.[50] And for individual *ehoiai*, the symposium may provide a fitting context for performance. Not only is sympotic poetry often characterised by the recitation of exempla, but the ability to assemble smaller units together by the connective ἢ οἵη would also fit well with recitation practices of symposiasts, each successively capping his predecessor, as would the flexibility for possible expansion of any given ἢ οἵη.[51] And certainly narratives of sexual

[46] Gods do not generally need to kiss and tell, though it is hard to read the first 56 lines of the *Aspis* as much more than a celebration of Zeus' sexual prowess in cuckolding the inferior Amphitryon, apparently *without* any deception and with more impressive results (48–56; contrast Amphitryon's μέγα ἔργον ('a great deed', 22, 38) with Zeus' θέσκελα ἔργα and his fulfilled ἐέλδωρ ('divine deeds' and 'wish', 34, 36)).

[47] A point I owe to Richard Fletcher.

[48] Scholiast to Pindar, *Pyth*. 9.6 (ii.221.13 Drachmann = Hesiod fr. 215).

[49] Rutherford 2000: 91.

[50] Cf. Martin (this volume).

[51] As Rutherford 2000: 88 himself recognises in the context of discussing the oral-formulaic composer. See also Solmsen 1981: 356 with n. 9. On this aspect of sympotic practice, see: West 1974: 14–18; Lissarrague 1990: Chapter 4; Stehle 1997: 221–2; Węcowski 2002b: 351; Ford 1999; Osborne 2001: 53. On *skolia*, see Athen. 15.694a.6ff. On hexameter recitation at symposia, see below, pp. 59–60.

exploits with beautiful and accessible women would not go amiss in the symposium, particular when the power relations between gods and mortal women could be easily mapped on to that of symposiasts and *hetairai*.

The subject and the formal aspects of (the segments of) the poem seem reconcilable with the symposium as among the possible performance sites of the *Catalogue*, whether in excerpted form or as its antecedent genre, ἢ οἵη poetry. But in what follows I want explore how the *Catalogue*, and in particular the ἢ οἵη formula, support what I would call sympotic ideology. Would the symposium as a context for the performance of ἢ οἵη poetry impact on the agenda of the poem we have before us and its reception? Or is it merely the vestigial marker of the evolution of our extant poem, as Rutherford argues, using as his model the process described as 'automatisation' by Russian formalists. That is, in comparison to the overarching genealogical agenda of the poem, the ἢ οἵη formula is 'merely "formal" rather than "functional", and also "automated"', meaning 'that the element is no longer part of the primary purpose of the work but follows as a secondary concomitant, and ceases to have a major effect on the audience, who have become more or less numb to the element's effect.'[52]

While such 'generic archaeology' is persuasive, less so is the contention that an audience no longer noticed or was 'numb to the element's effects'. That the formal element ἢ οἵη remained present in the text and was prominent enough to influence how later writers referred to the work (clearly still noticing it) are facts that suggest the importance of the phrase at the level of reception.[53] Moreover, it is equally problematic that Rutherford's analysis implies a single audience (lack of) response to this element. Given its scale, the performance of the *Catalogue* implies public recitation and therefore an audience at least in certain respects non-homogeneous. The ἢ οἵη formula may well have had different associations for different subsets of that audience, particularly if some enjoyed private sympotic performances of *ehoiai* poetry. One might compare the different ways in which Pindaric epinician could be heard by the élite of a polis (and even by different groups within that élite), as compared and contrasted with its reception within the larger citizen body: different elements would be received differently, while the poet attempts to produce the overall effect of having everyone receive his song and its subject favourably.[54]

[52] Rutherford 2000: 92.

[53] Rutherford 2000 consistently privileges the diachronic dimension of textual evolution over the synchronic dimension of audience reception, and therefore renders the formula obsolete, but from where does the obligation, ultimately to explain away the formula, come in his claim (p. 91) that, 'the overall structure of the *GK should* not accommodate paradigms' (italics mine)?

[54] See Kurke 1991 on the spectrum of audiences accommodated by the poetics of Pindaric epinician.

Instead of nullifying the effects of the *ehoie* formula, I would ask what conclusions follow from reactivating it? What is essential about this formula, and what reception might it elicit in an audience? It is the act of *comparison* that stands at the very heart of the formula and belongs in any account of the formula's presence in the *Catalogue*. I would ask two questions, the first a negative one. Why *should* the tensions between the diachronic and synchronic elements of the poem, represented by genealogical structure and the *ehoie* formula, need to be resolved, or, better, why feel obliged to resolve it by rendering one element obsolete? An explanation recognising the poem as embracing this tension, perhaps even *comparing* these perspectives, would surely be more desirable, as it does not dismiss out of hand the importance of the observable features of the poem. Secondly, must the comparison implied in the *ehoie* formula be solely a comparison within the internal, literary world of the poem, an assumption that generates problems and tensions for those attempting to reconcile it with the overarching genealogical agenda of the poem? Outside the confines of purely literary analysis, the comparison implicit in the *ehoie* formula may instead have initially been at home in a sympotic performance context, *and* nevertheless have not become atrophied when appropriated to the larger context of the *Catalogue*, or at least not have been received as atrophied by some section of the wider audience for whom the formula might have additional meaning based on its other contexts of performance.

I return to the proem and the points I identified at the start, that this is a poem that narrates repeatedly the sexual unions of males of vastly superior order with females of lower status (though nevertheless superlative examples of their kind) and the successful social and political consequences of such liaisons. The major points of the proem correspond precisely to the tension or rather dialogue existing between the ἢ᾽ οἵη formula and the genealogical form focused on by Rutherford, that is, a tension between the synchronic dimension of the poem – a description of the various sexual encounters between gods and women that bear comparison with the time-frame of the poem's audience – and the diachronic dimension – the genealogical consequences of these unions whose effects are still felt (or an interested group still wishes to make felt).[55]

[55] This tension is illustrated precisely by the ambiguity inherent in calling these women *aristai:* is it because they are the best that the gods slept with them, or because the gods slept with them, begetting such famous offspring, that they are the best? The prologue seems to favour the former interpretation over the latter, thus privileging inherent, rather than derived, excellence. This is similar to the *Catalogue*'s perspective on the deification of Heracles, and also seems emphasised in the wooing of Helen, as discussed below.

Whatever difficulties arise from its fragmentary nature, the proem clearly announces the centrality, and inseparability, of these two temporal conceptions for the ensuing poem. The first six lines establish a relationship between 'now' and 'then': νῦν δὲ γυναικῶν φῦλον ἀείσατε . . . αἳ **τότ'** ἄρισται ἔσαν . . . ξυναὶ γὰρ **τότε** δαῖτες ἔσαν . . . ('**Now** sing the tribe of women . . . who **at that time** were the best . . . for **at that time** feasts were shared'). The adverb νῦν prevails for two lines, leaving open for a time the possibility that the γυναικῶν φῦλον might comprise contemporaries, before revealing them to be αἳ τότ'.[56] At the same time, to announce the unqualified φῦλον of women as the subject of the present song is to include all women, then and now. By the delay between the articulation of νῦν and τότε, the present is brought forward to be juxtaposed with the past, inviting the importation of now to then, then to now. With the τότε of line 3, one is led to consider the women who were best in the past and how this excellence manifested itself – divine preference; it may likewise induce further reflection on who αἳ νῦν ἄρισται ('the best women now') are, and with whom μίτρας ἀλλύονται/ἀλλύσαντο ('they loosen/loosened their girdles'). Are they the men who are now ὥς θεοί, or, in the language of sympotic verse, κυδρότεροι ('more lordly/exalted')?[57]

Line 16 further sustains the tension between the genealogical and analogical functions of the subject of this poem: τὰ πρῶτα explicitly marks a moment in the past, yet simultaneously and inevitably gestures towards succeeding moments, to be fulfilled in the γένος κυδρῶν βασιλήων ('the race of exalted kings'). γένος, like φῦλον, is an entity that inherently implies a continuity that may embrace the present, and here it is defined in political terms (κυδρῶν βασιλήων). At the same time, the proem compares male actors within a synchronic time-frame – divine and human, human and human: ξυναὶ . . . ξυνοί, ἀθανάτοις θεοῖσι καταθνητοῖς τ' ἀνθρώποις, οὐδ' ἄρα ἰσαίωνες, οἱ μὲν . . . τοὺς δ'. The genealogical narrative results in a world of political stratification, while the world introduced by the proem is one in which will be demonstrated the stratified capacities of male actors. No other hexameter invocation constructs so explicit a division between the temporal worlds of the audience and the subject of song, yet neither is it common to have present a world in which gods and men might be compared, and that comparison in the past, I would suggest,

[56] But when is that τότε? See below.

[57] Ion 27.10. Or, for that matter, ἄξιοι ἡμιθέων ('worthy of demigods'), as symposiasts singing Callinus could entertain the possibility of both being and being recognised as such, within and in contrast to their wider social context (fr. 1.16–17, 20–1; cf. the depiction of Achilles in Agamemnon's speech of *Il.* 9. 116–17 and 155).

facilitates comparison with the present: the repeated assertion of 'then' invites comparison with 'now' through the explicit expression of a different time-frame. In the evaluation of similarity and difference between past and present, between powerful male actors of then and now, an audience may well have been divided in how the conditions of these temporal domains match up to those of their individual 'nows'.[58]

I turn again to the details of the proem: if the first τότε of line 3 distances the audience of men *νῦν* from the liaisons of gods with women described in some detail in lines 3–5, the second τότε demonstrates that their distance from the events of the poem is not *qua* men who may have been erroneously supposed by some listeners to have categorically no part in a narrative about gods: instead, the poem presents a world in which the δαῖτες of gods and men are shared, though, of course, the inherent inequalities of their natures will never be far away (ἀθανάτοις τε θεοῖσι καταθνητοῖς τ' ἀνθρώποις, 'deathless gods and mortal men'). By creating this shared context for these groups of males, these lines bring into existence the space (literally and figuratively) in which they might be compared.[59] And comparison does follow: common though feasts at this time may be, there will remain levels of inequality between the characters of this poem, οὐδ' ἄρα ἰσαίωνες ('not at all were they of equal vitality'), that the events of the poem will demonstrate.[60]

[58] See Haubold (this volume) and Koenen 1994.

[59] On the relationship between gods and men presupposed in Hesiod and the *Hymns* cf. the general comments of Prier 1976: 30 '[a] strong and necessary orientation of each realm to its opposite – an orientation that should be considered . . . in terms of a third "space" of mixture, interaction, and experience in which the opposing phenomena react to and experience a world in identical ways. From this "mixture" of men and gods there arises the genealogies that structure the world.'

[60] There is little consensus on the subject of ἰσαίωνες (gods and men: Treu 1957; men and men, then: Schmitt 1975; men then and men now: Merkelbach 1968a: 129; or, less plausibly, men and women: Lobel 1962), and indeed on the meaning of the term itself, a *hapax* in Greek literature, as αἰών may denote the duration of a lifetime, or on the quality of the vitality possessed by that life – more likely given the epic precedents (cf. Clarke 1999: 113–15; Degani 1961: 17–28; Schmitt 1975 overlooks this possibility). There is a related uncertainty regarding those named in vv. 11–12: do οἳ μὲν δηρόν and τοὺς δ' εἶθ[αρ] describe the conditions that prevailed for all men (for a long time of youthful vigour, and then suddenly deprived of their youth), or, rather, two contrasting groups of men – some who lived long in a youthful (marriageable) state, while others were either short-lived or experienced youth for a short time. The latter situation would map well onto contemporary class distinctions, both actual and ideological: those who can afford a life of leisure have in practice an extended youth; they may not age as quickly, due to their labourless lifestyle, and – because of their material assets and social connections – they remain marriageable for a longer time than men of lower orders, for whom in the competition for marriage their youth and strength are their best, or only – yet short-lived – assets. This interpretation of this surprising use of ἡΐ[θ]ẹοι seems preferable to emendation (Stiewe 1964; cf. Stiewe 1962: 297–8); in any case, it remains important to recognise that a central element of the proem is the establishment of hierarchies between males.

Lines 6–13 have presented problems for commentators that extend beyond those that invariably arise from its fragmentary nature. They seem to depart from the main subject, αἳ τότε ἄρισται γυναικῶν ('the best among women then'), to talk of men, and their relationship to gods and to one another, and on this basis have elicited a variety of responses: Schwartz thought they were an interpolation; Treu saw reference to men as balancing their relative absence in the early stages of the genealogies; West tried to reconcile this period of commensality with the Hesiodic division at Mekone.[61] But attempts to fit this poem into the Hesiodic cosmic chronology are in vain: Treu well noted that the time denoted by τότε is left studiously vague.[62] Despite the Hesiodic label, the proem in fact ignores a crucial event in the Hesiodic conception of the relations between gods and men, the division at Mekone; instead, the poem will present the Trojan War as the real separation point (fr. 204.95ff.).[63] It is an alternative conception of past time, and one aware of itself as such: the sequence of line 6, as Schmitt well observes, makes best sense as an implicit assertion that, contrary to other reports, a close and intimate relationship existed at this time between men and gods.[64] The proem describes a period in which men and gods share a sphere of activity, and compete: the communality can therefore become a forum in which their inequality as actors is made manifest. There are implications in ignoring the division at Mekone: what the proem presents is a community of males that can without difficulty or logical scandal be mapped upon the community of males that exist in the 'now' of the poet and his audience. If the Hesiodic division at Mekone established the separation of gods from men and the fundamental equality of men with one another in this respect at least, the world of the *Catalogue* asserts that gods and men belong to a shared community of male actors competing in the same spheres, but with unequal success. The divide between gods and men is therefore not institutionalised in the time covered by the *Catalogue*, but merely apparent through their respective success and failure in the procuring of women.

The point is made more obvious in fr. 5, where Pandora is just the first paramour of Zeus – not the Hesiodic symbol of man's fall – and Zeus is denoted by σημάντωρ ('commander'), a term placing him on a

[61] Schwartz 1960: 436; Stiewe 1962: 297 calls the passage *keineswegs typisch*; cf. further Treu 1957; West 1961: 133.

[62] 'Wann, unter welchem Weltregiment, dieses "Damals" war, wird nicht gesagt und darf nicht gefragt werden,' Treu 1957: 177.

[63] Schmitt 1975, rightly disagreeing with West's view that the time of the *Catalogue* precedes Mekone.

[64] Schmitt 1975: 20.

plane of comparison with men, at the same time as distinguishing him through the figures whom he commands, θεοὶ πάντες ('all gods').[65] While silently denying the Hesiodic tradition, we are also reminded of it: the figure who from a Hesiodic perspective is created by the gods as a καλὸν κακόν (*Theog*. 585) to occupy a world far removed from them – the symbol and the instrument of the inferiority of mortal men – is here to be enjoyed with maximum contrast by Zeus, free from unpleasant consequences.[66]

It is also true to say that the poem elides differences in kind between gods and men, emphasising only the differences in quality. From the divine end, the divinity of the gods is played down in the *Catalogue*: they take women without deception or changing form.[67] And, of course, the sway of Aphrodite is the shared experience *par excellence*, afflicting gods no less than men.[68] From the mortal side, the poem's chief mortal male, Heracles, demonstrates the divide to be not *a priori* fixed (fr. 25.26–33),[69] and while men may have difficulties in obtaining women and begetting offspring from them, in pointed contrast to the ease with which gods procure and impregnate them, this does not apply to all men: those of the best parentage find it easy enough (e.g. Melaneus fr. 26.22ff.). Moreover, lexical analysis seems to suggest that the label κυδροί for the mortal offspring of Zeus, the γένος βασιλήων, comes close to ascribing to them divine status. At this point, one does well to recall the stratification of men in epic: a hero is honoured by other men, θεὸς ὥς.[70] If all males in the *Catalogue* are not equal, neither are all men: stratification exists among mortals, and the inequality between men is as significant in the poem as that between gods

[65] In Homer, σημάντωρ is only used of men; of gods, it is only used in the *Catalogue* – here and in *Aspis* 56 (as strong contrast to Amphitryon) and in *HHHermes* 307, and in each of these cases only in this formula; cf. Hofinger *s.v.* σημάντωρ.

[66] In a world without the division at Mekone to separate gods and men, in a group of males enjoying commensality, singing Semonides 7, Pandora would no doubt be the horse-woman and Zeus the sort of male for whom she is no liability. On the myth of Prometheus, see Vernant 1981a, 1981b.

[67] In fact, the shape-shifters seem to be those of the lower order, i.e. mortal (Mestra and Periclymenus, frr. 43 and 33a and b); gods are constant. See Treu 1957: 182. One might well wonder about the relationship between the *Catalogue*'s de-supernaturalising of some aspects of the gods and a similar phenomenon – but of men – in Homer identified by Griffin 1977.

[68] See n. 44 and Prier 1976: 29–34.

[69] It must be seen as significant that this happens early in the poem, but also significant that it is only late in the poem that his excellence is revealed as due to his parentage: he does not 'become' anything (νῦν δ' ἤδη θεός . . . νῦν δ' ἤδη πεφίληκε ['Now already he is a god . . . now already [Hera] has loved him'] fr. 25.26–32); his life instead has revealed what he has always been (τὸν μὲν χειρότερον, τὸν δ' αὖ μέγ' ἀμείνονα φῶτα | δεινόν τε κράτερον τε, βίην Ἡρακληείην, *Aspis* 51–2; the play between the comparative and the absolute in these lines should be noted). For a comparable treatment of Heracles and time, see Pindar, *Nem.* 1 with Segal 1974, and cf. Haubold (this volume).

[70] See, for instance, *Il.* 9.155, 297, 302, 22.434, *Od.* 5.36, 7.71, 19.280, 23.339.

and men, and perhaps more so given its ideological reverberations for the *νῦν* of poet and audience.

The reminder has a double, and contrary, function of underscoring the differences between gods and men while asserting their likeness: does the possibility of this relationship in the past invite such a mapping on to the present? The juxtaposition of the categories of gods and men, past and present, and the slippage between them, makes for a fluidity of comparison that simultaneously facilitates and obfuscates the processes of mapping of the present on the past, and this is done in the service of a particular élite ideology. The stratification of male actors (gods and men, men and men) in the past provides the grid upon which to map the existing stratification of male actors in the present (men and men), and also to delineate the kinds of strata there are in the contemporary world where the category of *agathoi* is fluid and contested, defined sometimes by birth, sometimes by wealth (cf. fr. 203), and poetic texts provide the battleground for these contests of definition and ideologies. But in the 'now' of the audience, when gods no longer interact in human affairs in this way, which group of men are most appropriate to take their place?[71]

I would argue that in the context of the symposium and the culture which supported it, the dialogue between gods and men and between past and present represents a dialogue between two relationships to the gods, who are the élite of the poem: identification with them, and descent from them. To the sympotic male audience, the gods are like them, perform the activities they do, and, like the gods, the élite symposiasts occupy an elevated status *vis-à-vis* other males; yet the contrary pull, the past-timeness made clear by the vector of genealogy, serves a complementary elevating purpose through recounting and thereby authorising in communal performance the narratives of divine descent. The seemingly contrary motions of the paradigmatic and syntagmatic structuring of the poem recapitulate the elements of identification and descent that provide the coordinates of élite identity.[72]

[71] See [Aeschines] *Letter* 10 for traditions about the καλοὶ κἀγαθοί exploiting these divine topoi playing the gods in their sexual encounters.

[72] A complementary way to conceptualise the syntagmatic and paradigmatic structures of the poem would be to draw on the differences in time identified by Vidal-Naquet 1960 to exist between gods, for whom time proceeds linearly, and humans, who are caught in a world of cyclic time. The *Catalogue* defines its two endpoints – the proem and fr. 204.121ff. – by these two different conceptions of time: divine and human, the linear/genealogical narrative of the proem and the cyclic/agricultural world of the conclusion, a world that corresponds to that portrayed in the *Works and Days*. The intervening *Catalogue* may be seen as a contest between these two conceptions of time, producing a tension similar to that embodied in Glaucus' famous hesitation in *Il.* 6.145–211, caught between the

Language, themes, and subject-matter, as well as aspects of the formal elements of the *Catalogue*, suggest a strong intertextual relationship with sympotic poetry. Some difficulties arise, however, if one should want to push the intertextuality further to suggest that the symposium was in some way a setting for either this poem or an antecedent 'genre' of short *ehoie* poems: in the case of the former, the difficulties are the size of our poem, and its metre; in the latter, the lack of evidence. But these problems are not insurmountable.

One might presume a poem of this size would not be performed in the symposium. Taking 'generic archaeology' as an approach, one might be led to posit an earlier mode of sympotic poetry that had at its basis the comparison of contemporaries with figures of the past, mythic or historical:[73] Plutarch's *Cimon* provides a telling example of this type in the jocular elegies about the many paramours of Cimon by an otherwise unknown elegist, Melanthius.[74] On this model, our *Catalogue* (or rather its parts) was never performed in the symposium, but for some members of the audience of its performance, the *ehoie* formula would have had extra significance derived from its relationship to a genre with which they were familiar in a different context.[75] That there is no *exact* parallel for a sympotic form of *ehoie* poetry is of course a problem. One would have to argue that either the monumentality of the *Catalogue* so eclipsed the reception of any other shorter sympotic versions in the performance tradition that they ceased to be retained, or that its public performance affected the sympotic popularity of the original genre. But perhaps the answer could be found in the style of the *ehoiai* itself: the ad hoc (re)creation for sympotic performance might have meant that they were not destined to be immortalised by reception. There certainly must have been more skolia or skolia-like poetry than our meagre collection retains, and Plutarch's passing reference to Melanthius'

cyclic time of men in which their γενέη (vv. 146 and 149) is like that of leaves (with significance for the *Catalogue*, introduced by οἵη, vv. 146–9), and divine/linear time with each γενεή (vv. 151, 211) distinct and characterised by an extended narrative of descent. It must, however, make a difference to how audiences respond to these contrasting conceptions of time that some among them still participate in the linear time of the gods, the validity of genealogy, and a privileged lifestyle, while some in contrast labour in the cyclic time of agriculture.

[73] E.g. Mimnermus 14 (cf. Alc. 298), *Theog.* 603–4, 1341–50.

[74] Plutarch says Melanthius was παίζων δι' ἐλεγείας ('jesting in elegiacs', 3W (Plut. *Cimon* 4.10.3)). One of Cimon's ladies was even called 'Mnestra'.

[75] It is not necessary to suppose this genre was in hexameters: elegiacs would work as well, and the model of interrelationship would be similar to that of elegiac and epic martial paraenesis. If the hypothesis proposed here is valid, one might then begin to consider in Athens at least the dimensions and implications of the dialogue, no doubt competitive, between public performances of the *Catalogue* – perhaps sponsored by members of the élite locally for public entertainment – and the hexametric performances sponsored by the Peisistratids. See the brief comments of Slings 2000: 77.

elegiacs on Cimon demonstrates all too well the ephemerality of this type of poetry and the vicissitudes of reception.

But perhaps it is easier to imagine, given the segmented structure of our *Catalogue*, that it was excerpted for the shorter performances required at the symposium. This suggestion raises what for some would be a substantial problem, the performance of hexameter poetry at a symposium. While perhaps not the metre of choice, there is evidence that hexameters were performed at the symposium: relevant examples include Hipponax, Xenophanes, Phocylides, and Critias.[76] While one might object that the epic parody of Hipponax's hexameters renders them an exception, they nevertheless demonstrate one possible occasion on which hexameters were recited at the symposium. But Phocylides provides others: his fragments are overwhelmingly hexametric, and deal with subjects perfectly at home in sympotic poetry.[77] Furthermore, our oldest hexameters, those on Nestor's cup, would have constituted a sympotic performance of hexameter when read in the symposium, a situation that would also obtain for other inscribed sympotic vessels.[78]

In addition, one might also ask about the metre of certain sympotic 'performances' attested in sympotic verse. The songs whose subjects were deemed inappropriate to the symposium by Xenophanes – wars of the Titans, Giants or Centaurs – or that were sung during the libations to Alcmene and Heracles, among others, in Ion 27 may well have been in hexameters.[79] Can we be certain that excerpts of extended hexameter poetry were not performed when their subjects overlap with the content of sympotic poetry? Clearly, passages like fr. 239 of the *Catalogue* (quoted above), Odysseus' 'toast' in *Od.* 9.2–11, the exhortations and advice about drinking of Panyassis (16, 17, 18 Bernabé), not to mention the martial exhortation of epic so similar to elegiac paraenesis, would be particularly well-suited to

[76] See Hipponax 128, Critias 1 Gerber (Athen. 13.600d–e). On Phocylides: see Bielohlawek 1940: 19–20, especially on the importance of fr. 14, and West 1978b. Xenophanes B 22 seems appropriately sympotic (Athen. 2.54e; see Lesher 1992: 72), but other fragments might also have been destined for performance in more highbrow symposia.

[77] That Phocylides 2 says in hexameters (as Hesiod had already, *Theog.* 590–602) what Semonides 7 deals with in iambics suggests a certain flexibility with respect to metre.

[78] On Nestor's cup, see: Murray 1994; Latacz 1994: 362–5; Danek 1994–5; Faraone 1996, and also Węcowski 2002a: 633–7. It would not be unreasonable to infer from the quotation and discussion of Homer and Hesiod in the rarefied context of certain late-fifth-century symposia demonstrated by Xenophon and Plato that elsewhere, and earlier, extended sections of these poets had been sung by (less talented) symposiasts, with or without discussion; cf. Plato, *Protagoras* 347e–8a.

[79] Lesher 1992: 53. Homer and Hesiod are the targets of Xenophanes 11 and 12 DK. A possible objection is that Ion describes what is sung at the *beginning* of the symposium, and not throughout; but one might wonder about the metre that would be used for the prayers of Theognis 943–4, clearly mid-symposium.

sympotic performance.[80] In short, the apparent rarity of the performance of hexameters at symposia is not a serious objection to the thesis advanced here.[81]

Social stratification and marriage

In the last two sections, I will turn more directly to the social and political ideology of the poem. That the political is operative within the process of creating/reciting genealogies is by now an uncontroversial claim, and ample evidence exists for archaic poetry.[82] Genealogies are commonly used to support claims to succession and claims of status, whether realised or desired. As such, although they are ostensibly about the past, it is really the present that is being described: 'The world of myth provides a mirror and projection of the present world', as Robert Fowler concludes his persuasive case for seeing the *Catalogue* as engaged in political competition at the level of polis relations.[83]

While this is true and of general importance for the present argument, I will discuss a different aspect of the political in this poem, that of dynamics *within* the polis, doing so in two steps: first, to change tack from questions involving the specific politics likely to have been advanced (albeit subtly) by the poem, to something more general, and this is where the term 'social' comes in. Rather than consider the inter-polis politics, as Fowler does,[84] of this poem, I combine Rutherford's reflections on earlier stages of this poem with a consideration of it within a contemporary social and political milieu, the archaic polis. I argue that the performance context of the symposium helps make sense culturally of the seemingly contrary pull between the *Catalogue*'s overarching genealogical framework and the paradigmatic nature of the *ehoie* formula. In the élite ideology of the poem, the literary contradiction is in fact no contradiction at all. In a second and

[80] On the appropriateness of *Od.* 9.2–11 for performance at the symposium, see Ford 1999, esp. 113 and 120; the *Certamen* reports that this passage was excerpted for performance, albeit in κοιναὶ θυσίαι (90–4). On Panyassis, see Bielohlawek 1940: 22–3, and Matthews 1974: 75–87 for the strong correlation in the vocabulary and formulae of frr. 16–18 Bernabé with that of sympotic poetry, particularly Theognis. That there are a large number of variants in Stobaeus' and Athenaeus' texts of fr. 16 (cf. Matthews 1974: 77) may suggest that this exhortation to drink found itself in performance contexts, like the symposium, that invited adaptation and ultimately influenced transmission: cf. the case of Theognidean doublets, with Nagy 1983. On elegiac paraenesis and Homer, see Greenhalgh 1972 and Irwin 2005.

[81] It is a serious concern that we may respond to the very many uncertainties about archaic performance culture by stressing what might have been at best only a tendency in the correlation between metre and performance context. Cf. Davies 1988 for a similar concern in the case of monody and choral lyric.

[82] See, for example, Fowler 1998 and Pade 1983.

[83] Fowler 1998: 17.

[84] See also West 1985a and Finkelberg 1988.

far more speculative step, I explore in the final section how two important sequences of the *Catalogue*, the Mestra-*ehoie* and the wooing of Helen, may correspond to a specific and problematic type of social and political mobility in the sixth century, best illustrated in Athens by the family of the Alcmaeonids. In parallel with the genealogical dimension of the poem, I argue that the dynamics of the sexual unions of the *Catalogue* – the differences between the attempts of gods and men, and the consequences of these attempts – all engage in a process of contemporary mirroring, replicating and promulgating one strand of aristocratic ideology, involving marriage as reflected in sympotic poetry.

The interrelationship and, ultimately, hierarchising of male actors are central issues of the proem and the ensuing poem. Although gods and men might share feasts and sit together at this time (lines 6–7), there is clear stratification in their success in obtaining desirable women, and in the success of their pairings. Beyond Poseidon's claim that the unions of the gods are not without issue (fr. 31), there are some inherent inequalities between these two groups of male actors in the *Catalogue*. Unlike the gods, men in the *Catalogue* must woo to have sex; wooing is a difficult (e.g. Sisyphus, fr. 43) and sometimes dangerous (e.g. Atalanta, frr. 72–6) procedure; it is costly, as demonstrated in the contest for Helen (e.g. frr. 199.9, 200.4, 204.41 and Odysseus' prudent response 198.4–8);[85] those with inborn excellence are not rewarded with the marriages they deserve, or else they must obtain them through great difficulty (Heracles with Iole, fr. 26), even death (Heracles' apotheosis and marriage with Hebe, fr. 25), or not at all (Ajax, fr. 204). This concern with maintaining the social status quo is articulated in contexts other than marriage: men are punished when they try to rise above their station, as with Salmoneus and Ceyx (frr. 30 and 10 a and b).[86] Even Sisyphus, with the help of Athena, is not clever enough (fr. 43) and is twice trumped by Poseidon. As Rutherford comments, 'Gods are basically benign, (a) except that they usurp the position of heroes in relationships (Poseidon and Glaucus; Poseidon and Cretheus; and Amphitryon and Zeus); and (b) unless heroes impiously claim the position of deities (as in the case of

[85] This contrast between men and gods is eloquently depicted in the fates of the daughters of Porthaon, girls apparently of equivalent value and appeal: Apollo can avail himself of one for his son, Melaneus, φέρων ἀνάεδνον ἐὐζωνον ('taking the fair-girdled girl of lovely hips'), while Thestios must come μυρία ἕδνα πορών ('bearing countless gifts') for her sister (frr. 26.23, 37); compare also Apollo's success in obtaining this marriage for his son Melaneus with the debacle of Sisyphus' efforts, twice foiled by Poseidon (fr. 43).

[86] Because Tyro opposed her father, she was spared: οὐ]δ' εἴασκε θεοῖς [βροτὸν ἰσ]οφαρίζειν ('She did not accept that a mortal should compete with gods', fr. 30.27). That these two examples are not about aspirations through marriage strengthens my claim that the poem is more generally concerned with the issue of disturbing the social order, privileging, however, marriage as the means of disturbance *par excellence.*

Ceyx or Salmoneus).'[87] Here, I would point out that the *Catalogue*'s depiction of the gods is how an élite would choose to depict themselves in relation to their social inferiors.

The ideological agenda of the poem is clearest in the wooing of Helen: the consequences of her marriage result in the end of an epoch. The poem presents an extremely ironic slant on what one could imagine in other epic renditions might be depicted as a grand affair. The victorious bridegroom, Menelaus, emerges only by default, due to his superior wealth: Agamemnon, the stronger of the two brothers and likewise richest of suitors, would have been preferable but he was already spoken for (fr. 197.3–5); Achilles is still a child (204.89ff.), otherwise there was no way Menelaus would have won; Odysseus does not compete wholeheartedly because he knows the score (fr. 198.5) – wealth will win.[88] Ajax presents the most interesting case in that of the contenders he is clearly the favourite of the poem: his ἕδνα are called ἐοικότα ('fitting') and θαυματὰ ἔργα ('wondrous deeds') and as such consist not in wealth, but in the heroic, warlike acts that this ἀμώμητος πολεμιστής ('flawless warrior') is capable of achieving, as listed in fr. 204.46–51.[89] Fragment 203 makes explicit the relative strengths of the families of the suitors: ἀλκὴν μὲν γὰρ ἔδωκεν Ὀλύμπιος Αἰακίδηισι, | νοῦν δ' Ἀμυθαονίδαις, πλοῦτον δ' ἔπορ' Ἀτρεΐδηισι ('For the Olympian one gave war-spirit to the Aeacids, intelligence to the Amythaonids, and provided wealth for the sons of Atreus'). The catalogue of suitors seems to answer the question uncomfortably skirted around (but not overlooked) by the *Iliad*: how could it have ever come about that the most beautiful and desirable woman, descended from Zeus himself, paired with a second-tier hero?[90] And amidst a series of contra-factuals surrounding whom she did not marry (Agamemnon, already a brother-in-law, fr. 197.3; Achilles, too young, fr. 204.89–92) lurks the larger question of what would have happened had she married according to ἀλκή ('war-spirit'), an inherent quality, rather than wealth, an acquired attribute and no indication of true excellence; if, in other words, she had married the best of the (available)

[87] Rutherford 2000: 86.

[88] Cf. van Wees 1992: 99–100, 358 n. 84: 'A courting competition, therefore, is really a contest of *wealth*, though notionally it is a contest of personal excellence.' The *Catalogue* reveals this crass reality, but does so in the service of championing a truly élite ideology.

[89] To anticipate the argument below, it is worth noting that Ajax was also a sympotic favourite, cf. *PMG* 898, 899.

[90] This is apparent in Ajax's standing-in for Menelaus in the duel with Hector in *Iliad* 7.92ff., Agamemnon's admission of his brother's inadequacies to Nestor (*Il.* 10.120–3) and fear for him (*Il.* 10.240–1), and the fact that he is not sufficiently conspicuous for Priam to single him out for identification, as he does Agamemnon, Odysseus, and Ajax (*Il.* 3.161–229). Cf. *Il.* 17.24–8 with Edwards 1991: 65.

Achaians, rather than the richest of them.[91] What did happen, according to the *Catalogue*, as a result of this marriage was cataclysmic: the end of the heroic age.[92] The *Catalogue*, like the *Iliad,* focuses on the conflict between natural ability and inherited power and wealth, but with different emphasis. Here is demonstrated what amounts to the destruction of an era, a race, through the privileging of the 'wrong' (according to the ideology of the poem) attributes for marriage and the incompatibility that then arises; or rather, the (devastating) consequences when those of the best stock (the very best in the case of the Tyndaridae) marry off their daughters and sisters on the basis of wealth rather than birth.[93]

And again this theme returns us to sympotic poetry. The social mobility made possible by wealth in general, but in particular by the mixing of classes through marriage, is a frequent theme of Theognis, the rearguard of the old *aristoi.* In lines 257–60 of the *Theognidea*, the speaker adopts the persona of a fine (καλή) mare complaining that she bears the worst (κάκιστος) rider:

ἵππος ἐγὼ καλὴ καὶ ἀεθλίη, ἀλλὰ κάκιστον
ἄνδρα φέρω, καί μοι τοῦτ' ἀνιηρότατον.
πολλάκι δὴ 'μέλλησα διαρρήξασα χαλινὸν
φεύγειν ὠσαμένη τὸν κακὸν ἡνίοχον.

I am a fine, prize-winning horse, but I carry a man who is truly the worst, and this for me is a most grievous thing. Many times I have been at the point of shattering my bit to run away and throw off this worthless rider.

This, of course, has sexual content, but the adjectives *kalos* and *kakos* denote more than an evaluation of sexual technique – they have social implications, and the poem applies equally well to marriage. More pointed, in that it clearly refers to marriage (rather than sex), is the tirade of Theognis 183–92 against the effects of wealth on breeding:

[91] For discussion of the pairing of Achilles and Helen see Schmidt 1996.

[92] See Schmitt 1975: 22 on the Trojan War as heralding the *absolute Getrenntheit von Götter und Menschen.*

[93] Two mythic narratives are placed in juxtaposition throughout the poem, the Atreidae-led sack of Troy and the life and apotheosis of Heracles (most clearly seen in the juxtaposition of his birth, at the end of Book 4, with the suitors of Helen at the beginning of Book 5). The former is given little or no glory in this poem (cf. fr. 23. 15–30 and fr. 176), and is in fact contextualised as part of a divine plan to rid the earth of the race of heroes. In contrast, Heracles, the first sacker of Troy, for his life of struggles and deeds, insulted by being denied marriage with Iole, is rewarded by full recognition of the excellence he had always possessed, apotheosis and the highest possible marriage with the very daughter of Zeus and Hera (fr. 25). Even their deaths, both at the hands of their wives (narrated in close proximity in frr. 23.17ff. and 25.20ff.), render an implicit verdict on their respective lives. See Haubold (this volume) on the forced juxtaposition of the birth of the Atreidae and Heracles in frr. 194 and 195: cf. West 1985a: 144 n. 39.

κριοὺς μὲν καὶ ὄνους διζήμεθα, Κύρνε, καὶ ἵππους
εὐγενέας, καί τις βούλεται ἐξ ἀγαθῶν
βήσεσθαι· γῆμαι δὲ κακὴν κακοῦ οὐ μελεδαίνει
ἐσθλὸς ἀνήρ, ἢν οἱ χρήματα πολλὰ διδῶι,
οὐδε γυνὴ κακοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀναίνεται εἶναι ἄκοιτις
πλουσίου, ἀλλ' ἀφνεὸν βούλεται ἀντ' ἀγαθοῦ.
χρήματα μὲν τιμῶσι· καὶ ἐκ κακοῦ ἐσθλὸς ἔγημε
καὶ κακὸς ἐξ ἀγαθοῦ· πλοῦτος ἔμειξε γένος.
οὕτω μὴ θαύμαζε γένος, Πολυπαΐδη, ἀστῶν
μαυροῦσθαι· σὺν γὰρ μίσγεται ἐσθλὰ κακοῖς.

We seek rams and asses, Cyrnus, and horses that are of good stock, and everyone wants to mount those of good breeding; but a noble man is not bothered if he marries the base daughter of a base man so long as he gives him lots of cash, and a woman doesn't reject the hand of a base man if he is very rich: she wants a wealthy man instead of one who is noble. They honour money. A fine man marries the daughter of a base man and a base man marries the daughter of one who is noble. Wealth has mixed up blood. And so, Polypaides, do not marvel that the line of the those in the city is becoming obscure, for the noble is mixing with the base.

Such poems are representative of an élite attempting to define themselves, foster an identity, and perform with and to one another in the symposium their shared system of values: symposiasts perform their collective censure of those of comparable status who had or could be portrayed as having broken rank (easy to do when the 'rank' is ill-defined and fluid) by marrying on the basis of wealth.[94]

That this subject was not exclusive to sympotic poetry is of course clear from Alcman's *Partheneion*, but choral poetry represents a complementary perspective – a different performance context, a different genre – on what was obviously a central concern among (sections of) the archaic élite.[95] This concern can also be easily demonstrated by examples from archaic history, as told by Herodotus, and, perhaps significantly, occurring in the strongest candidate for the poem's place of composition, Athens.[96] By political enemies and fellow members of the élite (outraged and/or envious), the marriages of the Alcmaeonids into the families of tyrants could easily be represented in negative terms, particularly as tyranny represented a threat to the social status quo of the polis and to (certain sections of) the *agathoi* interested in maintaining their elevated place within it; and no doubt such marriages provided much material around the crater.

[94] Cf. van Wees 1992: 99–100, 358 n. 84 and van Wees forthcoming.
[95] Alcman 1.16–21.
[96] For the Athenian nature of the *Catalogue*, see West 1985a: 168–71.

Alcmaeonid marriages are at the least suggestive of social and political tensions around the issue of marriage in the Athens contemporary with this poem: the marriage of the daughter of Megacles to a would-be tyrant, Peisistratus (Hdt. 1.60–4), as indeed the marriage of Megacles to the daughter of Cleisthenes of Sicyon (Hdt. 6.126–31), could easily have been thus conceptualised by contemporaries. In the case of the latter, and with the perspective of historical hindsight, Herodotus presents Megacles' marriage to Agariste as on some level, like Helen's marriage, epoch-ending (from an élite perspective) in so far as the political upheaval effected by their issue, Cleisthenes of Athens, is repeatedly attributed to his following his tyrannical grandfather's lead.[97] In the case of the former, a father who marries off his daughter for his own advantage, only to take her back again, is a story pattern that could describe Megacles as easily as Erysichthon/Aithon. These stories may here function purely on the level of exempla, as indications of the dynamics of contemporary archaic marriage, and the kind of backdrop (analogous in any city) against which the issues of the *Catalogue* might be read. In what follows, however, I want to take a more specific and highly speculative approach to the relationship of the *Catalogue* with the contemporary world of its audiences.

The Catalogue *and Athenian politics*

These possible resonances with famous local and contemporary marriages of a single prominent family around which traditions certainly existed (as attested by Herodotus) invite speculation on the extent to which the content of the *Catalogue* may have been shaped to evoke or interact on some level with contemporary events.[98] In an Athens where tyrants are manipulating the performance of *epea* for their advantage in public festivals, it is not unreasonable to ask whether the *Catalogue*, with all its sympotic evocations, might not have its own political and ideological agenda.[99] Outside Athens, these marriages must have occupied in élite (sympotic) circles the status of panhellenic gossip – certainly the marriage of Agariste did. Awareness in an audience of possible contemporary evocations in the poem is not required

[97] In Herodotus' narrative, Cleisthenes' travesty of sympotic practice (τὸν δῆμον προσεταιρίζεται, 'he made the *demos* part of his *hetaireia*') is immediately succeeded by his tribal overhaul of Athens (μετὰ δὲ τετραφύλους ἐόντας Ἀθηναίους δεκαφύλους ἐποίησε, 'after this he made ten tribes of Athenians out of the four that had existed', 5.66.2). For Cleisthenes' imitation of his tyrannical namesake cf. Hdt. 5.67.1, 69.1–2.

[98] On Alcmaeonid family traditions see Thomas 1989: 144–55 and 261–82.

[99] On political readings of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* in the context of Panathenaic performance see Irwin 2005: Chapter 8 and Conclusion.

for its enjoyment; it is not difficult to imagine the performance of this poem as appealing to different audiences on the level of both its ostensible content and its contemporary evocations, albeit in differing measures, and certainly, once composed, the various *ehoiai* could no doubt be successfully and wittily applied in turn to any other analogous contemporary situation in any polis. That said, in what follows I will point out some striking correspondences in narrative patterns between the *Catalogue* and these (in)famous Athenian marriages, and then explore how far other testimony might point to their influence on the *Catalogue*'s narratives. This reading will naturally be highly speculative, but it is hoped the imaginative leap may pay off.

The intertextuality between Herodotus and the *Catalogue*'s wooing of Helen is nearly always seen in one direction: a function of Herodotus' own epicising treatment of this event, and/or of the epic pretensions of Alcmaeonid family traditions.[100] But what if the picture is more complicated, the directions of influence more fluid: could the *Catalogue* have recast the epic wooing of Helen in terms of this recent and destined to be famous historical wooing-contest involving Athenian participants (which no doubt was itself conducted in a way to suggest epic)? There is no conclusive answer. One might only point out that both Herodotus and the *Catalogue* adopt a similar ironic stance to what each of the hosts no doubt intended to be a grand affair, and both make the consequences of the marriage momentous, and (with hindsight) epoch-ending. More specifically, two shared details might make one pause: neither Megacles nor Menelaus are the absolute best, and win only by default,[101] and in each story a rich and overconfident Athenian contender loses – Hippocleides (6.129.2, 'Far surpassing the others . . . he pleased himself exceedingly well with his dancing', κατέχων πολλὸν τοὺς ἄλλονς . . . καί κως ἑωυτῶι μὲν ἀρεστῶς ὀρχέετο) and Menestheus (fr. 200).[102] On this reading, the *Catalogue* in Athens – and among a panhellenic élite – would function as sympotic *epea* mocking Alcmaeonids for breaking rank with this tyrannical (and enviable)

[100] A spectrum of Herodotean commentators concur on the epicising quality of his rendition: Stein 1874: *ad* 6.126.6 (quoting Grote iii 38 n., who suggests imitation of the wooing of Helen), Macan 1895: *ad* 6.128 and Nenci 1998: *ad* 6.126.12.

[101] Hippocleides is the favourite (not least, κατ' ἀνδραγαθίην 'because of his good breeding') until his 'dance', 6.128.2 and 4; on Menelaus' ranking, see fr. 204.44–5; cf. 197.3–5, 198.5–6, 204.85–94, and above.

[102] On the wealth of the two favourites for Agariste's hand cf. 6.127.4. Hippocleides was also distinguished because of his connections to the Cypselids, 6.129.1. Correspondingly, in the *Catalogue*, given that the criterion for victory among the Tyndaridae is to be wealthy, Menestheus might be seen as Menelaus' chief opponent.

marriage, and castigating them for forging alliances that would (and were to) bring on the end of their heroic epoch;[103] a reading that would gain greater resonance for performances of the poem after 508, when the golden age received its death blow through the offspring of that tyrannical marriage, and when the poem could also take on the added function of undermining the Alcmaeonids' tyrant-hating claims.[104] If 508 is too late for the actual composition of the Helen-episode of the poem, we might wonder whether other Alcmaeonid activities before this date may have invited similar ominous prognostications.

The wooing of Mestra offers more material for such speculations: could the wooing of Mestra and the abortive attempts of Sisyphus to procure marriages for his son have been constructed in such a way as to evoke another famous Alcmaeonid marriage, that of the daughter of Megacles? It is an unusual story, not least because of its apparently unusual and surely significant setting in Athens.[105] I shall focus here on the structure of the story, as told in the *Catalogue*, and the pattern it seems to share with the story of Megacles' daughter told by Herodotus: a father who unscrupulously marries his daughter for advantage takes her back, and thus precipitates a momentous quarrel, only to be resolved by the intervention of Athena, although the resolution ultimately amounts to a dissolved marriage with no issue. In what follows, I will outline those details that suggest correspondence. Before doing this, however, it is important to delineate the inevitable limits to such correspondence, even could it be proved: even if these accounts do describe the same event, they would nevertheless both still be *accounts*. They necessarily contain bias and perform particular functions for particular audiences; they originate from separate centuries, occur in different genres, and moreover narrate an event – the dissolution of a marriage – whose details and explanation were likely to have offered at the time no easy consensus between the parties involved, and little certainty among a wider audience, and possibly also little interest in

[103] A mid-sixth-century date and an Athenian provenance for our *Catalogue* (so West 1985a) would lend some support to this reading. On the distinctive Atticisms of fr. 204 see West 1963 and 1985a: 170–1.

[104] Of course, the segmented structure of the *Catalogue* could have accommodated modifications, elaborations, or perhaps even substitutions: the only check would presumably have been audiences' approval, but presumably even light touches could be effective. On the negative portrayal of the Alcmaeonid family in Herodotus' version of the wooing of Agariste, see Thomas 1989: 268–70. On the political implications of this whole passage for Athenian democracy, see Munson 2001: 52–7.

[105] For a detailed discussion of the sources of the Erysichthon/Aithon story and its setting, see McKay 1962: 5–60 and Hopkinson 1984: 18–31.

accuracy.[106] It will become clear that there are indeed grounds to question Herodotus' narrative, but first I am concerned with the sequence of events.[107]

An agreement is made between the parties. As an obviously standard feature of marriage contracts, this need not carry great weight, but nevertheless the explicit reference to the agreement in both accounts should be noted. The *Catalogue* stresses the terms of the agreement: κού]ρην ἑλικώπιδα κ[αλλ]ιπάρηον | . . .]ṭ' ἄλοχον θυμαρέ' ἄ[γε]ṣθαι | . . . ὑπέσ]χετ[ο] μυρία ἕδνα ('he promised countless gifts to lead the quick-glancing, beautiful-cheeked girl home as a wife to delight the heart', fr. 43a.19–21; cf. 41–3). Herodotus, in turn, likewise emphasises the terms, a guarantee of the tyranny on the condition of marriage to Megacles' daughter: τὴν θυγατέρα ἔχειν γυναῖκα ἐπὶ τῇι τυραννίδι ('to take his daughter as wife in exchange for the tyranny', 1.60.2–3.); ὁμολογήσαντος ἐπὶ τούτοισι ('[Peisistratus] agreed to these terms, 1.60.3); κατὰ τὴν ὁμολογίην πρὸς Μεγακλέα γενομένην γαμέει τοῦ Μεγακλέος τὴν θυγατέρα ('in accordance with the agreement contracted with Megacles he married the daughter of Megacles', 1.61.1).[108]

The marriage is broken, and the daughter returns home. The *Catalogue* says of Mestra: ἣ δὲ λυθ[εῖ]σα φίλου μ[ετὰ δώματα πατρὸς | ὤιχετ'] ἀπαΐξασα, γυνὴ δ' ἄφαρ α[ὖτις ἔγεντο | πατρὸς ἐ]νὶ μεγάροισι ('And once freed, she dashed away and returned to the home of her father, and as a *gunê* ["a woman/one who has been married"] once more she was in the halls of her father',[109] fr. 43a.31–3, cf. mention of a mother, μητρί, 'mother', in 34). For Herodotus, the daughter's disclosure to her mother leads to a full rupture in relations: τὰ μέν νυν πρῶτα ἔκρυπτε ταῦτα ἡ γυνή, μετὰ δέ, εἴτε ἱστορεύσηι εἴτε καὶ οὔ, φράζει τῇι ἑωυτῆς μητρί, ἡ δὲ τῶι ἀνδρί ('Now at first [Peisistratus'] wife hid these things, but later, whether her mother asked or not, she told her, and her mother told her

[106] Perhaps the only things that all traditions would agree upon are that a marriage did take place and was ended without issue, and that these events stand in *some* relationship to Peisistratus' attempt(s) to become tyrant (and perhaps too that these events were prior to the final successful attempt to secure tyranny). See below.

[107] On the several problems with Herodotus' narrative of these events, see most recently Sancisi-Weerdenburg 2000: 87–106, who builds on the source criticisms of Beloch 1913 and Meyer 1936–7, and Blok 2000: 39–47.

[108] There is already an apparent difference in the stories, in that Peisistratus seems to get everything in Herodotus' account, tyranny *and* influential marriage – a point that should make readers suspicious of the (anti-Alcmaeonid) bias of this story. In this context, the gratuitous repetition of Megacles' name is significant.

[109] On the ambiguities of γυνή see Steinrück 1994: 292 n. 4.

husband', 1.61.2).[110] Conflict then ensues: αἶψα δ' ἄρ' ἀ[λλ]ήλοισ[ι]ν ἔρις καὶ ν[εῖκος] ἐτ[ύχθη | Σισύφωι ἠδ' Αἴθωνι τανισφύρο[υ εἵ]νεκα [κούρης ('And immediately in response a quarrel and strife broke out between them, Sisyphus and Aithon, on account of the slim-ankled girl,' fr. 43a.36–7; τὸν δὲ δεινόν τι ἔσχε ἀτιμάζεσθαι πρὸς Πεισιστράτου. ὀργῆι δὲ ὡς εἶχε καταλλάσσετο τὴν ἔχθρην τοῖσι στασιώτηισι . . . ('[Megacles] took it as something terrible to be dishonoured by Peisistratus. And in his anger, he gave over his animosities with his political rivals . . .' Hdt. 1.61.2).[111] In both cases, the father is a chief cause of his daughter's return, whether because of his greed in the case of Aithon, or the snub to his honour in the case of Megacles.

A god must intervene, and resolution comes in the form of an opaque hexametric pronouncement of a god, in both cases probably Athena:

ο]ὐδ' ἄρα τις δικάσαι [δύ]νατο βροτός· ἀλλ' αραῃ[
. . . . . ἐπ]έτρεψαν καὶ ἐπήινεσαν· ἣ δ' ἄρα τοῖ[σιν
ἀτρεκέως διέθηκ[ε] δίκην δ.[
'εὖτέ τις ἀντ' ὤνοιο χατίζηι χ[ρῆ]μ' ἀνελ[έσθαι,
ἀ]μφὶ μάλα χρῆν ὤν[ον . . . . . .] . τῖμον [
οὐ γ]ὰρ δὴ μεταμειπ[τόν, ἐπὴν τὰ] πρῶτ' [ἀποδώηι'

No one of mortals was able to decide on this case
They handed it over to her and approved.
And she laid down a sure judgement . . .
'When someone wishes to take for himself property for a price,
it should have been the case that both the price . . . value . . .
For the conditions are not to be changed, once one renders it in the first place'

Hesiod fr. 43a.38–43[112]

Interpretation of these enigmatic lines is notoriously difficult. One may be sure that Athena's settlement seems to enforce at least the initial terms, and whatever else is involved (with mules) is acted upon by Sisyphus, who attempts to take Mestra back.[113] Correspondingly, a riddling hexametric

[110] Given the importance of *historie* in the *Histories*, there must at least be humour, if not irony, in using ἱστορέω in this context.

[111] The syntax of this sentence is jarring – it is more usual for Herodotus to say δεινόν τι ἐποιέετο, as in 1.13 (Abricht 1869: *ad loc.*) – particularly within the style of its immediate narrative surroundings.

[112] The interpretation of these lines is notoriously difficult: Steinrück 1994 provides a tree-diagram of the various scenarios that the fragments might describe, and a full survey of the issue with bibliography. See also Casanova 1977: esp. 26–7, Osborne (this volume) pp. 19–20, Rutherford (this volume) p. 107. I would argue that the ambiguities of this passage are in part the result of evoking two worlds, the mythic and the contemporary. The pronouncement both breaks the epic register and is a detail not known from other versions, leading West 1963: 754–5, 1985a: 169 to see it as an *aition* for an actual contemporary law.

[113] This is guaranteed by fr. 43a.51–4 in his unfulfilled wish that offspring come from the union of Mestra and Glaucus.

oracular pronouncement at the temple of Athena at Pallene is taken by Peisistratus as encouragement to act:[114]

> They met at the temple of Pallas Athena, and set their weapons against one another. Then, employing divine guidance (πομπή), Amphilytus, an Acarnanian seer, stood with Peisistratus, and, approaching him, gave an oracular pronouncement in hexametric verse, saying the following:
>
> The cast has been made, and the net spread wide,
> The fish will shoal through the moonlit night.
>
> And indeed, thus inspired [Amphilytus] spoke this oracle to him, and Peisistratus comprehended the oracular response and said he welcomed the oracle that was uttered and led his army in attack. (Hdt. 1.62.3–4)

In both cases, whatever Athena's involvement, no issue was ever to come from these marriages. Sisyphus was not destined to have his line continued through Glaucus and Mestra (fr. 43a.53–4), and nothing was (intended) to result from marriage to the daughter of Megacles (Hdt. 1.61.1). Finally, regardless of Athena's support, the marriage amounts to nothing, or less than nothing: Poseidon wins a kind of triumph over the groom's family by fathering a child with Mestra (fr. 43a.55–9); presumably, the daughter of Megacles remarried.[115]

On basic details, the stories diverge only, superficially, in the person of the groom, son (Glaucus) or father (Peisistratus), and, perhaps more interestingly, in the figure who had no intention of the union bearing offspring, Zeus and the groom (Peisistratus). Neither divergence need be considered significant. The model suggested here for the interaction of mythic poem with contemporary events is not one of simple allegory, but rather the allusive shaping of myth to engage with contemporary events, so the difference between procuring a wife for oneself or a son amounts to little. It is however worth noting that procuring marriages for his sons was actually a well-established feature of Peisistratean tradition, as is the fact

[114] The parallel may seem forced, as for Herodotus this event is from a later episode than the story of Megacles' daughter; this objection will be addressed below. The point of emphasis at present is the shared sequence: agreement, marriage, the return home, hostility, divine settlement.

[115] On her likely remarriage see Davies 1971: 375, but this 'correspondence' is not to be pushed. Poseidon is more interesting for an archaic Athenian audience: an implied tension between Athena and Poseidon occurs twice in Sisyphus' story of fr. 43a, leading one to wonder whether this competition recapitulates social and political competition articulated through cult; see Neil 1901: 83–4 and Bury 1932: 142 (on Plato, *Symposium* 214d). At the least, it may represent an effort to undermine the significance of Peisistratean descent as a Neleid from Poseidon, but this is a subject that deserves greater investigation than can be provided here: on Peisistratean descent, see Shapiro 1989: Chapter 6. For an approach to cultic competition between Athena and Poseidon reflected in hexameter poetry, see Cook 1995.

that at the time of this marriage his sons were at least already approaching marriagable age.[116] As for the differences in the figures not committed to the success of the marriages, father or husband, it must above all be emphasised that the stories are united in the fact that both marriages are contracted with unequal commitment by the two parties. The divergence is, however, interesting: in terms of 'fact', it is unlikely that there was concurrence about responsibility at the time – political motivations can be masked as personal and vice versa, and each party no doubt had an interest in persuading a wider community that the other party's intentions were not sincere. Once removed from the event – at the level of narrative – these accounts represent varying perspectives and inevitably reflect bias. Herodotus tells the story for a later audience at the particular expense of the Alcmaeonids: he may be drawing on their family traditions for details and for their currency among his audiences, but ultimately the account he produces is unflattering to that family. The *Catalogue*, as proposed by this reading, tells of the marriage primarily at the expense of Sisyphus (Peisistratus) and his *genos* (as the next story will show), and only to a comparatively lesser extent, Erysichthon (Megacles). On this reading, the *Catalogue* reserves a more substantial critique of the Alcmaeonids for the finale of the poem, the wooing of Helen.[117]

If the parallelism in the structures of the stories persuades, one might turn to attributes of the characters involved, including their names. Mestra has a speaking name, a figure whose sole function is her cunning (μήδομαι) and by folk etymology to be wed (μνάομαι);[118] correspondingly, the daughter of Megacles is almost entirely nameless in the historical tradition – remembered only as the one-time wife of Peisistratus,

[116] For interest in the marriages of the Peisistratids, see the *Nostoi* of Cleidemus, *FGrHist* 323 F 15 (*apud* Athenaeus 13.609c–d, 480d); cf. Davies 1971: 445–50.

[117] If these correspondences are compelling, one might well consider how discrepancies over father and son may have occurred. It is possible that the *Catalogue* has – or reflects a current tradition that has – transposed the marriage from father to son in order to cast aspersions on the second generation of tyrants. Alternatively, perhaps it was originally a son of Peisistratus who married Megacles' daughter, in that case probably Hipparchus, for whom it is easy to imagine how a marriage ending without issue might raise scurrilous reports of sex οὐ κατὰ νόμον (cf. the famous story of Hipparchus' inclinations in later years, Thuc. 6.54; cf. *Ath. Pol.* 18.1–2 with Rhodes 1981: 228–32 and Davies 1971: 448–9). That the Herodotean version connects the Alcmaeonids more closely with an attempt to establish tyranny in Athens would be damaging, but Herodotus insults them further: Peisistratus did not want children from Megacles' daughter because his children were grown up, but more importantly because of the Alcmaeonid curse, a particularly sensitive bit of family history in the late 430s (Thucydides 1.126–7). At any rate, Herodotus neglects another probable motivation for Megacles contracting this marriage in the first place, and a motivation that is central to the *Catalogue*, material gain: on the extensive holdings of Peisistratus, see Davies 1971: 452–4.

[118] For the derivation of Mestra from μήδομαι, cf. Κλυταίμηστρα with Fraenkel 1950: on *Ag.* 84; Garvie 1986: on *Choeph.* 648–5; Heubeck in Heubeck–West–Hainsworth 1988: on *Od.* 266; cf. *Od.* 11.422, 437, *Ag.* 1426 and *Choeph.* 991); but it is difficult to rule out some association with μνάομαι.

thanks no doubt in part to Herodotus.[119] The significance of her son's name may also be activated in the context of the *Catalogue* passage: Eurypylus seems a fitting name for the child of a woman who has been frequently married.[120] And while there is nothing to confirm that the Herodotean version of improper relations was a subject known to the *Catalogue*, some details of Mestra's 'marriage' deserve comment. That she returns home a γυνή must be understood with all its meanings: it is not only a statement about her resuming human form, but about her sexual status – she is definitely not a *parthenos*.[121] Moreover, σπέρμα in line 54, like σπερμαίνω, is not a commonplace in sexual contexts in archaic poetry, and is perhaps too concrete to be absolutely polite.[122] One might then turn to the father: the contemporary evocations of a Megaclean Erysichthon/Aithon might suggest the greed of the Alcmaeonid family, legendary in Herodotus' day, and, on Herodotean dating, a subject that was of relevance in the period more or less contemporary with the *Catalogue* in the famous story of Alcmaeon and Croesus (6.125). Aithon is, as the *Catalogue* relates, a speaking name (vv. 5–6, τὸν δ' Αἴθων' ἐκάλεσσαν ἐπ]ών[υ]μ[ο]ν εἵνεκα λιμοῦ | αἴθωνος κρατεροῦ φῦλα] θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων, 'The tribes of men called him Aithon as a nickname on account of his strong fiery hunger') and is of course famous precisely as a pseudonym in archaic poetry:[123] it is the name adopted by Odysseus as the hungry beggar.[124] That Erysichthon is explicitly given a 'nickname' might suggest the possibility that Aithon may be eponymous on another level, a level reaching outside the text to contemporary figures.

[119] A scholium to Aristophanes, *Clouds* 48, calls the daughter of Megacles Coesyra – an attribution which some dispute – but if true, the transportation to Cos may pun on her name; cf. scholia to *Clouds* 800 and Sud. (E 87) *s.v.* ἐγκεκοισυρωμένην. For discussion of her name, see Rhodes 1981: 204 (*ad Ath. Pol.* 14.4). Alcmaeonid marriages continued to furnish entertainment in the fifth century: outside Herodotus, see Aristophanes, *Clouds* 46–74, and Cimon's Alcmaeonid wife, Isodike, may be the woman referred to as Μνήστρας τινός by the poet Melanthius (3W [Plut. *Cimon* 4.10.3]; cf. above, p. 58). For discussion of the Cos element of this story, see Casanova 1978.

[120] This would be an example of the epic-style practice of naming the son after his father's attributes (e.g. Eurysaces, Astyanax). On significant names, see Sulzberger 1926.

[121] Steinrück 1994: 292 n. 4.

[122] In hexameter poetry, σπέρμα is not applied to sexual contexts or progeny – and indeed is not terribly frequent – except in the context of σπερμαίνω discussed above (fr. 1.15 and *WD* 736), and possibly in the (muted) double entendre of *WD* 440–7. Otherwise, the only other appearance in archaic poetry is *Theog.* 1277–8 of Eros – τῆμος Ἔρως προλιπὼν Κύπρον περικαλλέα νῆσον | εἶσιν ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους σπέρμα φέρων κατὰ γῆς ('when Eros left the very lovely island of Cyprus and went among men bearing seed over the land') – where the agricultural aspect is not entirely lost. It is in Pindar where the *Catalogue* usage is first and best attested: *O.* 9.61, *P.* 3.15, *N.* 10.81.

[123] Line 6 is restored from Callimachus (cf. also fr. 43b = schol. Lycophr. 1393), and see αἴθω]να δὲ λιμὸν ('burning hunger') of line 7.

[124] See Levaniouk 2000, McKay 1959, Robertson 1984: 395–8. On the connection of Peisistratus with Odysseus, see Plut. *Solon* 30 and discussion in Irwin 2005: Chapters 5, 8 and Conclusion. Aithon is also an identity assumed in Theognidean elegy, vv. 1209–10.

Finally, the wily Sisyphus is a fitting double for the plotting Peisistratus described by Herodotus, famous for his multiple attempts and one whose schemes are far from unequivocally successful.[125]

If the aborted marriage of Mestra into the family of Sisyphus alludes to the aborted marriage of the daughter of Megacles, one might wonder about the next daughter-in-law of Sisyphus, similarly Athenian. Scholars are far less interested in this episode, eclipsed as it is by the shape-shifting Mestra. It is a disproportionately large account about an otherwise little-known character, designed, it seems, solely to rob Sisyphus' line of any excellence in its progeny: Bellerophon's true father is Poseidon (81–3). There are several correspondences with the previous narrative: Athena's support of Sisyphus (78), emphasis on Sisyphus' cunning (75), once again in vain as he is again denied progeny from his line (79–80), superseded once again by the 'begetful' Poseidon (81–3).

The description of this daughter of the son of Pandion, usually thought to be Eurynome, daughter of Nisus, is marked:[126]

]υ θυγάτηρ Πανδιονίδαο
ἣ]ν ἔργα διδάξατο Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη
]εουσα, νόεσκε γὰρ ἴσα θεῇσι
τῆς καὶ ἀπὸ χρ]οϊῆς ἠδ' εἵματος ἀργυφέοιο
]θεου χαρίεν τ' ἀπὸ εἶδος ἄητο·
τῆς μὲν Σίσυφο]ς Αἰολίδης πειρήσατο βουλέων̣ 75
βοῦς ἐλάσα]ς· ἀλλ' οὔ τι Διὸ]ς νόον αἰγιόχοιο
ἔγνω· ὁ μ[ὲν δώροις διζ]ήμενος ἦλθε γυνα[ῖκα
βουλῇι Ἀθ[ηναίης·

The daughter of the son of Pandion . . .
. . . whom Pallas Athene taught skills . . .
. . . . for she knew things/had perceptive capacities equal to goddesses
and from her skin and her gleaming clothing
. . . (of the goddess?) a graceful form emanated.
Sisyphus the Aiolid made a trial of (her?) plans,
having driven cattle. But not at all the mind of aegis-holding Zeus
did he know. He went seeking the woman/a wife with gifts
through a plan of Athena.

This is not one of the *Catalogue*'s generic descriptions of a woman: she has a close tie to Pallas Athena (taught ἔργα by her, 71); she has perceptive

[125] One might ask whether there is any intended homophony between mythic and historical characters: Sisyphus and Peisistratus, Aithon and Alcmaeon(id). On puns, see Powell 1937.

[126] The name comes from Hyg. *Fab.* 157. In the absence of any other, I will use it for the sake of convenience. See Gantz 1993: 314.

qualities that put her on a level equal to goddesses (ἶσα θεῇσι, 72), she is elaborately dressed (εἵματος ἀργυφέοιο, 73)[127] and a χαρίεν εἶδος wafts from her body (74).[128]

In what follows, I am going to suggest that the marriage of Sisyphus' son with Eurynome bears close similarity with another famous Peisistratean tale known from Herodotus, that of Phye; but the closeness of the parallels will also point to ways in which Herodotus may have manipulated the traditions he inherited. That marriage to Eurynome might allude to the very different kinds of events in which Phye was involved might not be as outlandish as it first sounds. A tradition did exist that Peisistratus married Phye to Hipparchus, a marriage from which no children are known, and regardless of its truth, it remains to wonder from where this tradition arose.[129] While the apparent childlessness of Hipparchus leaves it impossible to prove the historicity of a marriage with Phye, it nevertheless produces a correspondence between his childlessness and that of Glaucus.

The biggest challenge to the thesis that the entire Sisyphus sequence of fr. 43a corresponds to an extended episode of Peisistratus' life is that it would alter the sequence of events presented in Herodotus: for Herodotus, the procession of Phye/Athena happens before the marriage with Megacles' daughter; for the *Catalogue*, the marriage (agreement?) with Mestra precedes that of Eurynome. This would not necessarily be devastating: the model used here is merely that the presentation of myths in the *Catalogue* is in dialogue with history, not straightforwardly reflecting it. That said, there is, however, considerable room to challenge Herodotus' presentation of Peisistratean history, as Sancisi-Weerdenburg's recent reappraisal of the evidence well demonstrates.[130] Herodotus' own narrative

[127] The only other use of this adjective in Hesiod is in Athena's adornment of Pandora: ζῶσε δὲ καὶ κόσμησε θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη | ἀργυφέηι ἐσθῆτι ('And grey-eyed Athene girded her and adorned her with gleaming raiments', *Theog.* 573–4); cf. Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη in *Theog.* 577 and *WD* 76. ἀργύφεος is a rare word with exceptional application in archaic poetry: it is applied to Aphrodite's breast, *HHAph.* 10, the veil given to Odysseus by Calypso (*Od.* 5.230), the cave of the Nereids (*Il.* 18.50), and the fleece given to Demeter by Iambe (*HHDem.* 196). Nowhere else in the extant fragments of the *Catalogue* is clothing mentioned.

[128] The charms of a female, expressed with ἄητο, are only applied to gods and Alcmene: *HHDem.* 276: κάλλος ἄητο ('beauty wafted [from her]') Pandora, *Theog.* 583, χάρις δ' ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἄητο ('a grace wafted over all'). The non-formulaic use of it in connection with Alcmene further elevates her: she is the ἀρίστη woman of the *Catalogue* (cf. *Aspis* 4–8).

[129] Cleidemus, *FGrHist* 323 F 15, in the seventh book of the *Nostoi*. Childlessness of Hipparchus: Thuc. 6.55.1 and Davies 1971: 452. Although the marriage is suspicious, given our lack of knowledge of Phye's age, and the possible date of this occurrence, one cannot see the objections of Davies 1971: 452 as decisive. For the cultural conflation of marriage and tyranny, see Gernet 1981.

[130] Sancisi-Weerdenburg 2000.

seems to indicate liberties with the traditions he has inherited, and other evidence argues for a sequence of events in conflict with that presented by Herodotus. His sequence is as follows: marriage agreement; the procession with Phye/assumption of tyranny; marriage and its dissolution; and, finally, the mustering at Pallene, some ten years later (though the narrative far from emphasises how much time has elapsed). In contrast, Polyaenus in his *Strategemata* offers a different sequence. In his account, the events at the temple of Athena are the first part of a coherent sequence of events that ends with the ruse of dressing Phye as Athena:[131]

> From Euboea Peisistratus led his attack against Attica at the battle of Pallene. He encountered the first wave of his enemies and killed them all. He then advanced and met several others. He gave a message to the men that they wreathe themselves and not kill those they met, but instead tell them to pour libations for those who were killed. And those men took his word and in response poured libations and turned over the city to Peisistratus. And he mounted a chariot, and stood beside himself a tall woman, beautiful, by the name of Phye, decked out in the arms of Pallas Athene, and gave out the report that Athena was bringing Peisistratus back, and without fear he drove in and held the tyranny of Athens.

Polyaenus' version certainly provides a far greater logic to the performative aspect of Peisistratus' spectacle, as it unites cultic site – the temple – with the epiphany of its goddess, Athena (Phye, ὅπλοις Παλλαδικοῖς κεκοσμημένην), and on that level is at least superficially preferable to Herodotus.[132] To Polyaenus' logic, the consistent bias in Herodotus' account might be adduced: Herodotus' version seems designed to implicate Megacles in a failed attempt to establish a tyranny of Peisistratus, an attempt in which he used his daughter as a bargaining chip with shameful consequences. This second attempt of Peisistratus, since it failed, is in a sense a non-event; it can enter and leave Herodotus' history without any major consequences for what in fact did happen.

Herodotus seems to give indications of a sequence of events other than the one he presents, namely that the procession with Athena actually

[131] *Strategemata* 1.21. Polyaenus makes no mention of Megacles' daughter, but does under a separate Peisistratean *strategema* make a fallout with Megacles a part of the first (according to Herodotean numeration) attempt at tyranny, the attempt that included the self-wounding as a means to procuring a bodyguard.

[132] Phye's deme was Paeania, to which the nearest site of Athena-cult was Pallene. On the performative aspect of the 'ruse', see Connor 1987 and Dougherty–Kurke 1993: 1–12; on the epiphanic aspect of the ruse, see Sinos 1993. For the importance of the cult of Athene Pallene to Peisistratus, see Davies 1971: 455. See also Blok 2000: 39–47, who argues that the episodes of Pallene and Phye should be collapsed into one event, but without the use of Polyaenus, or identification of the verbal cues in Herodotus.

belongs to the events at Pallene.[133] Peisistratus is said to have used a σοφωτάτη βουλή on this occasion to win back the Athenians; namely, he put his children on horses and had them pursue those fleeing and speak to them. One might well ask, what is so σοφωτάτη about that? As Herodotus describes it, this most clever βουλή consists in a strategy identical to the one that preceded Peisistratus' arrival with Phye: the use of an advance team to elicit support, in both cases saying τὰ ἐντεταλμένα (1.60.4, 1.63.2).[134] Herodotus seems to wink to his audience with the phrase θείη πομπή in 62.4, divine guidance, though applied here to a less tangible form – the oracle – than the more obvious manifestation of divine support in the Peisistratean tradition – the divine 'procession' (πομπή). Moreover, while the oracle spoken at Athena's temple suggests a component of a well-orchestrated plan to win and demonstrate popular support, to which the epiphany would belong, the reference to the oracle's metre is rare in the *Histories*, and rendering explicit the conventions of the oracular form in these terms demonstrates a self-consciousness about the artifice.[135] That Herodotus is playing with his reader is clear from his application of superlatives, labelling the procession with Athena as a πρῆγμα εὐηθέστατον ('the silliest affair', 1.60.3; cf. σχῆμα . . . εὐπρεπέστατον, 1.60.4), and the gentle persuasion of Peisistratus' sons on horseback as a σοφωτάτη βουλή (1.63.2). These evaluations might well have been otherwise applied in the traditions Herodotus drew on and by his own contemporary audience: the elaborate procession is certainly σοφωτάτη, and the qualification in βουλὴν ἐνθαῦτα σοφωτάτην most naturally suggests another βουλή that likewise deserves this superlative title. What Herodotus achieves by separating Phye from the events at Pallene is – on the one hand – a jibe at contemporary Athenian pretensions for cunning (1.60.3) and – on the

[133] Here, I differ from the apparent underlying assumption of Sancisi-Weerdenburg 2000 and Blok 2000 that Herodotus' aim was to write as historically accurate an account as possible of sixth-century history.

[134] The similarity of the phrase used in Herodotus, ἀναβιβάσας τοὺς παῖδας ἐπὶ ἵππους ('mounting his children on horses'), to a scholium on Hermogenes (V 378 Walz) about Phye, that Peisistratus ἀναβιβάσας εἰς ἵππον ἤγαγεν εἰς Ἀθήνας ('mounting [Phye] on horseback he led [her] into Athens') might give one pause. Blok 2000: 40–1 divides the second Herodotean attempt at tyranny into six elements, and demonstrates how four of these occur again in the third attempt. Her analysis could have been further supported by linguistic cues from Herodotus' text.

[135] Of all the oracles in Herodotus, the metre is mentioned only here, in 1.47.2 (Croesus), and 7.220.3 (a prophecy about Leonidas' death at Thermopylae). Given the Peisistratids' interest in poetry, it is not unlikely that they had composed a poem (or poems?) about these events, from which the hexameters quoted by Herodotus came: the existence of such a poem would explain why Herodotus explicitly refers to metre, as well as providing a tradition with and against which his own account played and upon which collective fifth-century memory was based. On the Peisistratids and poetry, see Jensen 1980 and the most recent survey by Slings 2000.

other – a demonstration of the early Athenians' eagerness to accept a tyrant: ἄλλοι τε ἐκ τῶν δήμων προσέρρεον, τοῖσι ἡ τυραννὶς πρὸ ἐλευθερίης ἦν ἀσπαστότερον ('And others streamed in from the demes to whom tyranny was more welcome than freedom', 1.62.1).

Beyond the issues raised by Herodotus' flippant and confessedly unique account – ὡς ἐγὼ εὑρίσκω of 1.60.3 – another source suggests a closer connection between the *Catalogue* and this episode of the Peisistratean tradition. Athenaeus quotes a passage of Cleidemus' *Nostoi* in which the story of Phye's marriage to Hipparchus is told (13.609c–d). It is first of all worth noting for the *Catalogue*'s possible mediation of the contemporary in the mythic that later works such as the Νόστοι chose to treat Peisistratus' exploits – in particular, the marriages of his sons – as part of a continuum shared with obviously mythic narratives. More striking, however, is the *Catalogue*-style description of Phye, ὡς Ἀθηνας πειραν εἶδος ἔχουσαν, καλήν φησι γεγονέναι, ἥτις καὶ τῆι θεῶι εἴκαστο τὴν μορφήν ('They say that she had the appearance of Athena and was beautiful and like to the goddess in her form').[136]

Not only is Cleidemus' description *Catalogue*-like (Ἀθήνας . . . εἶδος ἔχουσαν; τῆι θεῶι εἴκαστο τὴν μορφήν) but a textual problem in it brings us back to fr. 43a. The syntax of the passage Ἀθηνας πειραν εἶδος ἔχουσαν makes no sense, and Kaibel did not try to emend it. But before explaining it, the parallelism of the Herodotean Phye with the *Catalogue*'s Eurynome needs outlining. As established above, the description is no ordinary one for the *Catalogue*, and its details strongly evoke the Peisistratean ruse: Eurynome, like Phye, has close ties with Pallas Athena (fr. 43a.71; Hdt. 1.60.5, with the temple of Athena Pallene the nearest cult to Phye's deme). Despite appearances, νόεσκε γὰρ ἴσα θεῆισι in line 72 is by no means formulaic: this is the only occurrence of the iterative form of νοέω in all archaic poetry, nor is θεῆισι a line-ending outside the *Catalogue*.[137] Within the narrative of the text, the phrase means that she has perceptive qualities equal to gods: applied to Phye, it would take on the meaning that she thought things (contrived plans) that made her equal to goddesses, that is, a reference to her assumption of the role of Athena (1.60.4). Eurynome is given by the standards of the *Catalogue* superlative raiments

[136] Cleidemus was also interested in the marriage of Hippias – his wife is περικαλλεστάτη – as well as his other erotic relationships. Jacoby (following Schwartz) sees the work in the style of the Ἐρωτες (*FGrHist* 140 commentary). This tradition said Phye was a στεφανόπωλις (a tradition referred to in *Ath. Pol.* 14.4), the explanation for which must relate to the strategy in Polyaenus 1.21 that the men should garland themselves (θαλλῶι στεφανοῦσθαι), a detail that would again confirm the link of Phye with the battle of Pallene.

[137] One other is attested in fr. 185.23.

(fr. 43a.73, εἵματος ἀργυφέοιο) that could well describe the *panoplia* of Athena Pallene (1.60.4):[138] as Polyaenus describes, Phye was ὅπλοις Παλλαδικοῖς κεκοσμημένη.[139]

On the other side, it is not just Eurynome who is closely tied to Athena. Sisyphus approaches the girl with the *boule* of Athena (fr. 43a.78). In the mythic frame of the *Catalogue*, this suggests the guidance of Athena; applied to Peisistratus' ruse, it may be construed as a plan consisting of Athena – one that entailed the use of 'Athena'.[140] The βουλὴ Ἀθ[ηναίης in line 78 may well be, given the close repetition of the word, one of the βουλαί of Eurynome(?), of which Sisyphus will avail himself in line 75, a phrase otherwise difficult to explain: τῆς μὲν Σίσυφο]ς Αἰολίδης πειρήσατο βουλέων̣ ('Sisyphus the Aiolid made a trial of [her?] plans'). Here is where we return to the corrupt text of Cleidemus. Phye is said to have — Ἀθηνας πειραν — εἶδος. It is easy to understand that she had the form of Athena; less easy is what the *peira* would mean, and what the syntax is. I would suggest that it is a corruption linked to the formulation in the *Catalogue*, πειρήσατο βουλέων, an equally obscure, if not syntactically incorrect, comment.[141] The trial of Eurynome's *boulai* translates into a test by Athena through a *boule* that consists in exploiting the goddess' identity. In the case of Sisyphus and Peisistratus, it worked: one got a wife for his son, the other a tyranny (and a wife for his son?),[142] but the *Catalogue* reserves a space to deny the victory, as a wish-fulfilment on the part of the Athenian élite living in denial under the tyrant; or perhaps the *Catalogue* itself can be read as the victory, its circulation and popularity as Poseidon's victory, should its imagined success influence mythic tradition, ascribing Bellerophon to

[138] See n. 75. Several details in the description of this girl have significant correspondences with that of the Hesiodic Pandora, and suggest that in the apparently Mekone-less world of the *Catalogue* she will serve Pandora's function, initiating the separation of 'gods' and men, an end of an élite epoch, the beginning of tyranny in Athens by men's ignorant acceptance of her (cf. Hdt. 1.60.5), and a complement to the historicising reading of the wooing of Helen outlined above. It is Pandora's appearance in the *Theogony* that heralds that poem's catalogue of women (*Theog.* 590–612).

[139] Again, concessions should be made to wordplay and its immediacy for a listening audience: Pallas Athene and Pallene, Pandionidae and Paeania, not to mention the Paeonidae, to which both the Alcmaeonids and Peisistratids belonged: Paus. 2.18.9.

[140] As Lavelle 1991: 318 notes, divine patronage and surpassing intelligence are the two irresistible attributes of Peisistratus in Herodotus' account, features shared with (but with less success) the Sisyphus of the *Catalogue*. The phrase βουλῇι Ἀθηναίης is used earlier in fr. 33a about the shape-shifting Periclymenus, who first has Athena's support, but is then bested by Heracles. That this fragment describes a Neleid, of which Peisistratus was one, is telling.

[141] Even were it not fragmentary, there is still not enough room in the text to determine what 'driving cattle' in v. 76 might pertain to: there needs to be something external to the text to which this refers.

[142] Marriage and assumption of tyranny are closely united in Herodotus' story, and in other tyrant narratives: see Gernet 1981.

his true divine father and asserting that true excellence only comes through one's inborn nature, one's descent.[143]

If the argument has persuaded in general outline thus far, one might not want to forget the mules in line 45. West marks their significance, but sees them as an addition 'into the bargain' that 'poor Aithon' has had to give as a result of Athena's verdict.[144] If Herodotus' account represents a manipulation of the sequence of events around Peisistratus' attempts at tyranny, as the *Catalogue* and Polyaenus suggest they happened, then one might well wonder whether the mules mentioned in line 46 and the reference to Sisyphus' cunning (that nevertheless does not succeed) refer to the first Peisistratean deception, the one in which he gains a bodyguard, τρωματίσας ἑωυτόν τε καὶ ἡμιόνους ἤλασε ἐς τὴν ἀγορὴν ('Having wounded himself he drove mules into the agora', 1.59.4).[145] That Peisistratus does not succeed in securing his tyranny, nor Sisyphus his marriage, gives rise to the need for their next attempts, with Phye and Eurynome.

All this has already been highly speculative, but there remains one character of fragment 43a who has not yet been considered, but certainly merits inclusion in any discussion of the possible politics of mythic appropriation in archaic Athens: Heracles. As far as there can be a hero of a poem like our *Catalogue*, Heracles must be it.[146] The union of his mother with Zeus is the pinnacle of the unions celebrated by the *Catalogue* (ἥ ῥα γυναικῶν φῦλον ἐκαίνυτο θηλυτεράων, *Aspis* 4),[147] and his birth as part of Zeus' divine plan (*Aspis* 27–9) and his apotheosis (fr. 25.26–33) all confirm his exceptionality. While Heracles was otherwise clearly a popular subject of archaic poetry and iconography, to the point of suggesting to scholars his political appropriation,[148] a prominent element of his mythic persona is his association with drinking and the symposium. That Heracles was certainly a figure at home in the symposium is clearly relevant for the sympotic thesis of the first half of this article. Indeed, not only does Ion isolate, as important figures of the *Catalogue*, Heracles and Alcmene, as subjects of

[143] West 1985a: 132 has speculated on another connection between this story and Peisistratus: he is tempted by a political allusion to Peisistratus' seizure of Megara's port Nisaea, if the *Catalogue* has in fact made the Athenian Pandion the father of Nisus. If so, a military success for which he obviously gained *kudos* (which could not be taken from him) would be alluded to in a context that presented him in an unflattering light.

[144] West 1963: 755. On the range of possible roles for the mules, see Steinrück 1994: 293–5.

[145] For this ploy interpreted in terms of epic, see Plutarch, *Solon* 30.1.

[146] See Haubold (this volume).

[147] For which her gift was a drinking cup, a popular subject, as made clear in Athenaeus 11.781c and 11.474f.

[148] The scholarship on the subject is extensive, cf. Huttner 1996: 25–42 and Blok 2000: 19–24 for the most recent surveys with bibliography.

song at the libations of the symposium – σπένδοντες δ' ἁγνῶς Ἡρακλέι τ' Ἀλκμήνηι τε | Προκλέι Περσείδαις τ', ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχόμενοι ('Pouring libations in pure fashion to Heracles, and Alcmene, Procles and the Perseidae, beginning from Zeus') –[149] but our very first attested image of a reclining symposiast is Heracles.[150] And his drinking was of course of suitably heroic proportions: according to Athenaeus, εἷς ἦν ὁ Ἡρακλῆς τῶν πλεῖστον πινόντων ('Heracles was one of those who drank most') and he is the only figure to have a sympotic vessel named after him, a huge cup (469d).[151]

Here, I am interested, however, in the possible contemporary political associations of Heracles. Debates continue over Boardman's thesis that Peisistratus politically appropriated the figure of Heracles, yet a neglected aspect of this debate is élite (counter-) appropriations of this hero, from which such political appropriations would have probably derived, and against which they would have had to compete.[152] The possible significance of Heracles politically in sixth-century Athens raises questions about a corresponding political function of his centrality in a poem likely to be circulating in the same environment. But to address the resonances of Heracles for an archaic Athenian audience in this short space is clearly impossible; instead, I want to examine what the Mestra story may contribute to understanding a strand of the contemporary relevance of the hero.

A well-known problem for Boardman's thesis and our overall understanding of the cultural and political aims of the tyrants is the lack of written sources, but a problem might lie in the kind of written sources we expect or desire.[153] The passing reference to Heracles' sack of Cos in the Mestra story is a case in point. It exerts a paradoxical pull on listeners (or perhaps divides its listeners): on the one hand, it appears digressively in the narrative – ostensibly motivated by the birth of Mestra's child by Poseidon on Cos and the fate of her grandsons at his hands – something from which one might quickly move on; and on the other, it tantalisingly alludes outside the text

[149] Ion 27.5–6.

[150] The Eurytos crater, Louvre E 635; cf. Dentzer 1982. On the symposium as a prominent feature of the archaic iconography of Heracles, see Wolf 1993, Noel 1983, and Lissarrague 1990: 58, 84, 91–3, 112, esp. on the pairing of Heracles and Dionysus in sympotic vessels. In archaic poetry he is the drinking hero *par excellence* (e.g. Panyassis, *Heraclea,* esp. frr. 9, 16–18 Bernabé, Stesichorus *PMG* 181); see Philipp (1984). This image extends through classical and Hellenistic literature: Athen. 10.411–12b, 11.471e, 499a and Theocritus 17.13–33 where, suggestive for a sympotic reading of the *Ehoiai*, a description of the gods' symposia, attended by Ptolemy and Heracles, is immediately followed by a οἵα for Berenice (v. 34).

[151] Cf. further Athen. 11.470c–d and 781d.

[152] Cf. Padilla 1998: 13, 'the interests in Herakles by both the Peisistratids and the 'middle class' [*sic*] may have been overlapping and competitive at the same time.'

[153] Blok 2000: 24.

with the description of Heracles' sack as motivated ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὀλίγης ('from a small beginning', 61), and thus opens a window to other narratives.[154] This allusion, to be taken or left, outside of the *Catalogue* gestures not only towards the wider mythic tradition about Heracles, but also inevitably to the renderings of that wider tradition, in which Cos has a fairly specific place: after Cos, Heracles fought the giants in Phlegra.[155] It is this event that is of interest for the present discussion, for the AT-scholia to *Iliad* 15.27 locate this fight with the giants in Pallene, a site in Thrace on the Thermaic gulf, whose ancient name, as attested by Stephanus of Byzantium, was Phlegra.

But what is in a name? The passage of Theagenes' *Makedonika* quoted by Stephanus deserves further attention, for his mythic Heraclean battle seems evocative of Peisistratean legend:

Θεαγένης ἐν Μακεδονικοῖς οὐκ ἐνταῦθα δ' ὁ περὶ Παλλήνης ἕστηκε λόγος. φασὶ γὰρ τὴν μὲν γῆν ταύτην κεκλῆσθαι Φλέγραν, τοὺς δ' ἐνοικοῦντας Γίγαντας, εἰς οὓς Ἡρακλέα καταχθέντα τήν τε ὕβριν αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν μισανθρωπίαν ἐκπλαγῆναι. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ μάχης ἤρξαντο, τὰ συνήθη ὅπλα μετὰ χεῖρας λαβόντα, ἔπεσθαι παντὶ σθένει, κτείνοντα τοὺς πόλεμον αὐτῶι ξένια τοῦ κατάπλου παρασχόντας. γενέσθαι δ' ἐν τῆι μάχηι βροντάς τινας καὶ πρηστῆρας, ἀφ' ὧν ἡ τῶν θεῶν μάχη πρὸς αὐτοὺς μεμυθολόγηται.[156]

Theagenes in his *Makedonika*, the story about Pallene does not stand there.[157] For they say that this land had been called Phlegra, and that Giants inhabited it, against whom Heracles was led and was astonished by their hubris and their hatred of men. And when they began the battle, Heracles seized the customary[158] weapons all together with his hands, and pursued them with his entire strength, killing those whose hospitality on his arrival consisted in offering him war. And some thunder and squalls happened in that battle. From these events the battle of the gods against the giants has become a thing of legend.

[154] Janko 1992: 191 thinks the explanation for the sack of Cos is supplied by the weird cult story of Plut. *Mor*. 304c–d, an event that perhaps suggests sympotic cross-dressing. At any rate, Cos is the sequel to Heracles' sack of Troy (the latter referred to in the *Catalogue* at frr. 43a.64, 165.10), and likewise the *Iliad* knows of the Coan episode (14.255, 15.24–30). Whatever other function they serve, such references to this first sack of Troy diminish the grandeur and exceptionality of the *Iliad*, especially when Heracles accomplishes this feat effortlessly, ἕνε[χ' ἵπ]πων – the kind of performance and motivations of a true *agathos.* On the references to Heracles in Homer, see Kullmann 1956: 25–35.

[155] Pindar, *Isth.* 6.31–3, *Nem.* 4.25–7; cf. Apollodorus 1.6.1.

[156] Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Παλλήνη (p. 497), quoting the *Pallaniaka* of Hegesippus (*FGrHist* 391 F1) and the *Makedonika* of Theagenes.

[157] While it is hard to determine Theagenes' exact position in the debate, his first sentence seems to respond to disputes over the location of Pallene, before his account turns to the content of the battle with the giants at Phlegra/Pallene.

[158] The adjective συνήθη seems peculiar and unmotivated (though perhaps less so in Theagenes' account), but may well tap into extensive classical debate (see Thucyd. 6.56.2 and 58 (cf. 1.6.1) with *Ath. Pol.* 15.4 and 18 with Rhodes 1981: 210) about the influence of the tyrants on customary practices of carrying weapons; on the tyrannical practice of disarming citizens, see Arist. *Pol.* 1311a.12–13 (cf. 1315a.38).

Even the most cursory glance at this passage will bring to mind another famous Peisistratean strategem, by which he succeeded in disarming the Athenians, told by both the *Ath. Pol.* and Polyaenus.[159] The location of Phlegra in Thrace (where Peisistratus was involved in a foundation of Rhaikelos – not far from Phlegra/Pallene – during his ten-year exile, *Ath. Pol.* 14.4) helps explain (but not render true) the alternative and obviously recalcitrant tradition that Phye was a Thracian flower girl (στεφανόπωλιν Θρᾶιτταν). If Heracles, as described by Theagenes, represents a tradition in which the hero evoked Peisistratus, there are significant things to note in the representation that may be useful for a tyrant's image: that his enemies are giants characterised by their *hubris* and hatred of men is certainly not a bad plot to be appropriated and manipulated by the tyrant who takes on the labour of punishing the excesses of an élite.[160] If name-play were also to feature, the name of one of the giants, Alcyoneus, might conveniently be employed to evoke an Alcmaeonid.[161] What would have been Theagenes' and Hegesippus' sources? One might suggest a Peisistratean poem composed about the events in Pallene/Phlegra in which he was cast as Heracles, who, together with the Olympians (probably highlighting Athena's role), punished the excesses of the giants.[162] Of course, the details and dating of such a tradition would remain elusive, but should they date back to the tyrant, the intertextual relationship with the *Catalogue* would be extremely interesting: in this context, the *Catalogue* would represent a counter-appropriation of the hero, emphasising Heracles' similarity with élite class interests – his excellent birth and sympotic side (cf. Panyassis' *Herakleia*) – chastising the Alcmaeonids, who habitually broke rank with their profit-seeking marriages, and setting itself in competition both with

[159] *Ath. Pol.* 15.4–5 with Rhodes 1981: 210–13, and Polyaenus 1.21.

[160] On tyrannical narratives, see McGlew 1993.

[161] See the Pindaric scholium to *Isthmian* 6.47a, which locates in Thrace the isthmus where the fight occurs (instead of Corinth, Σ Nem. 4.43). The crime attributed to Alcyoneus by the Σ *Isth.* 6.47a and in his iconography, stealing the cattle of the sun, (τὰς Ἡλίου βοῦς ἀπήλασεν, 'he drove the cattle of the sun') may be significant for interpreting the *Catalogue*'s description of Sisyphus: that Sisyphus/Peisistratus drives cattle – βοῦς ἐλάσα[ς ('he drove cattle', 76) would be a corrective to the Peisistratean version. A feature of the iconography of Alcyoneus that may be significant for Peisistratus at Pallene is the fact that a great number of vases depict him as Herodotus describes Peisistratus' enemies, sleeping or in a position of repose: see Hdt. 1.63.1, *LIMC s.v.* Alkyoneus, and Gantz 1993: 419–20.

[162] This would be where Herodotus would have found his hexameters. Note that καταχθέντα is the verb used to describe Phye's escorting of Peisistratus: see Hdt. 1.60.3 (Ἀθηναίη Πεισίστρατον κατάγει), *Ath. Pol.* 14.4 (τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς καταγούσης Πεισίστρατον), Polyaenus 1.21.2 (Ἀθηνᾶ κατάγοι Πεισίστρατον). I would venture to guess that the Peisistratean version of events put Phye in a chariot and described her as riding *para(i)bates* (*Ath. Pol.* 14.4, Cleid. *FGrHist* 323 F 15), while a sarcastic account put her *epi hippon* (Hermogenes, V 378 Walz, quoted with Aristodemus *FGrHist* 104 Anhang).

Peisistratean use of Heracles and with the tyrant's appropriation of *epea* for the Panathenaia. The only adjudicator in the contest of political appropriation of myth would be the audiences, who had to be pleased, if it were to succeed.

CONCLUSION

Much in this article must remain speculative, but what is at issue is what conception we are to have of how poetry may have interacted in its (multiple) contemporary contexts, whether the context is defined by the performance venue, formal generic affinities, relation to a poetic tradition, or more broadly the social, cultural and political trends and contests that gave rise to it. It is a commonplace that the retelling of genealogies and mythologies was an exercise in defining the present, creating the past in one's own image. The questions not only concern the extent to which that process occurred – where do we draw the line on the potential for contemporary resonance? – but also whose image(s) we are now struggling to read in the tatters.

I hope at least to have demonstrated the *Catalogue*'s strong intertextuality with sympotic culture and with (a host of) the élite ideological stances of its poetry: the *Catalogue* depicts in myth the dynamics and criteria underlying marriage exchange, topics of interest in other archaic poetry, particularly sympotic, and certainly contested within the fluid and fragile grouping within the polis known as the *agathoi*. Because the élite of a given polis were not a well-defined class, but a loose group of contenders asserting their entitlement to this label, while attempting to exclude its application to others, poetic texts were a crucial instrument for these competitions over self-representation and self-definition of this group, for advancing a particular ideology amid contestation. There is no doubt that the *Catalogue* examines the valuation of various commodities, circumstances and implicit rules governing this most powerful and potentially empowering mode of archaic exchange, marriage. But beyond this general exploration, there seems to be a more specific ideological slant to the poem, one that possibly talked most clearly to particular audiences within a particular polis, but could have been shared by audiences of similar status in different archaic poleis.[163] Marriage on the basis of wealth over or at the expense of other inherent *aretai* is represented negatively: the culmination of this is presented in two narratives, positively in the apotheosis and marriage of Heracles,

[163] And for those not of that status, the *Catalogue* was still great entertainment – it had to be to ensure its circulation and ultimately immortality – just of a different order.

and negatively in the ironically-presented wooing of Helen and its dire consequences, the destruction of the race of heroes, effecting the transition mythically to the world and poetics of the *Works and Days*. But perhaps the *Catalogue* demonstrates that, despite Hesiod's belief in the badness of his times (*WD* 174ff.), the worst was yet to be seen: things could get worse (for some) within the Iron Age, should *aristoi* marry their children to, for instance, wealthy tyrannical families . . . Enter democracy.[164]

[164] I would like to thank the Faculty of Classics at Cambridge for supporting the original conference, and all the participants and discussants, from whom I have benefited enormously. In particular, I would like to thank Pat Easterling, Marco Fantuzzi, Richard Hunter, Robin Osborne, Peter Rhodes, and Han van Wees for their detailed comments on drafts of this paper, John Henderson for timely discussion, and Johannes Haubold and (again) Pat Easterling for their support and enthusiasm for the project.

CHAPTER 4

Heracles in the Hesiodic Catalogue of Women

Johannes Haubold

INTRODUCTION

The role of Heracles in the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* has been little studied.[1] This is surprising if we consider the potential interest the topic holds for students of Greek epic and tragedy. The present paper suggests that it is well worth having a closer look, not only for the ways in which this might enhance our understanding of Heracles in other texts, but also, more importantly, for what we might learn about the *Catalogue* itself.

I begin with an observation that is likely to strike any reader of the *Catalogue of Women* as it has been reconstructed by Reinhold Merkelbach and Martin West. Heracles lives his life backwards. The first major fragment that we can place deals with his death and apotheosis (fr. 25), the last one with his birth (fr. 195). In between, we move from the sack of Oechalia (fr. 26) back to that of Pylos (frr. 33–5), Cos (fr. 43a) and Troy (fr. 165). Finally, we arrive at the labours imposed on Heracles by Eurystheus (fr. 190). Then he is born. We may contrast the order of episodes as found in the *Catalogue of Women* with that in Apollodorus:

fr. 25 (death and apotheosis) = Apollodorus 2.7.7.7–12
fr. 26 (sack of Oichalia) = Apollodorus 2.7.7.5–6
frr. 33–5 (sack of Pylos) = Apollodorus 2.7.3
fr. 43a (sack of Cos and battle against Giants) = Apollodorus 2.7.1
fr. 165 (sack of Troy) = Apollodorus 2.6.4
fr. 190 (labours) = Apollodorus 2.5
fr. 195 M–W (birth) = Apollodorus 2.4.8

The order of Heracles' adventures in the *Catalogue* is the exact reverse of that in Apollodorus. This is puzzling. Time in the *Catalogue* does not tend to go backwards. The narrative proceeds genealogically, not from death to birth, as seems to be the case with Heracles. So, my starting question is:

[1] Galinsky 1972b: Chapter 1 discusses the *Aspis* (including the Alcmene-*ehoie*) but ignores the other fragments.

what are we to make of Heracles in the *Catalogue of Women* and, more specifically, of the fact that the text seems to move from his death in fr. 25 to his birth in fr. 195?

Before I continue, I must address an immediate and obvious problem with my opening claim. Because the text with which we are dealing is fragmentary, it may be disputed whether Heracles' life does in fact proceed from death to birth. Perhaps, if the text were complete, the pattern of backward motion would become blurred, or not be there at all. Moreover, there is the nagging problem of the *Megalai Ehoiai*, a poem that must have been of similar content and structure to the *Catalogue of Women*, so similar in fact that it is not easy to separate one from the other.[2] Thirdly, the numeration of Merkelbach–West is of course speculative in several cases, and there is still a significant number of fragments that cannot be assigned a place in the text at all.[3] Even if we assume, as most scholars now do, that the overall shape of the *Catalogue* can be reconstructed with the help of Apollodorus, many details remain uncertain.[4] The present paper takes the text of Merkelbach–West as its basis.[5] Future finds will doubtless modify some of the conclusions reached here, but if I have nevertheless chosen to focus on narrative sequence this is because I believe that such a reading can alert us to the richness of the material we already have, and enable us to uncover aspects of the *Catalogue* which might otherwise escape our notice.

So, bearing in mind the preliminary nature of our enquiry, I would like to ask some more general questions. First, it may be asked whether Heracles is at all an interesting or important figure in the *Catalogue*. Secondly, we must ask whether it makes sense to talk about a sequence of events in Heracles' life in archaic literature – let alone in the *Catalogue of Women*. Finally, and most importantly, one may ask in what ways a focus on Heracles can contribute to our understanding of the *Catalogue* as a whole. The bulk of this paper is concerned with these three questions.

HERACLES IN THE *CATALOGUE OF WOMEN*

Let me, then, turn to my first question: does Heracles matter in the *Catalogue of Women*? This, I think, we can answer with some confidence.

[2] Cf. D'Alessio (this volume). Casanova 1979b argues that *Ehoiai* and *Megalai Ehoiai* were different editions of the same text, namely the *Catalogue of Women*. See also Cohen 1986 and, more recently, Rutherford 2000: 88. Frr. 248–53 of the *Megalai Ehoiai* are about Heracles and his family.

[3] Frr. 205–45. Of these, only frr. 229–30 mention Heracles.

[4] The Aeolid stemma poses particularly difficult problems. For discussion and alternative reconstruction, see Dräger 1997: Chapter 3; Dräger's argument affects the relative order of frr. 33–5 and 43a, on which see n. 25 below.

[5] Merkelbach–West 1990, going back in part to Merkelbach–West 1967. The reconstruction is discussed in West 1985a.

Heracles is the single most prominent man in this text about women. He is better at the spear than Meleager, who is 'by far the best' (fr. 25.1–3), a point that reminds us of Achilles as the 'best of the Achaeans' in the *Iliad*.[6] Heracles seems to have been mentioned towards the end of the proem (i.e. he may be thematic even in this formal sense);[7] and he is the only mortal whose life is not contained in a few key episodes. The prominence of Heracles should not surprise us. It is already a feature of the *Theogony*, and the *Catalogue*, after all, presents itself as the sequel to that poem.[8] Moreover, it is easy to see why Heracles, the mortal man who attains immortality after death, might be of interest in a text which describes the relationships – sexual and otherwise – between gods and men (fr. 1). But, although Heracles is important, the question still remains whether the shape which his life takes in the *Catalogue* is of any significance.

One can ask this question at a more general level. Does it matter what comes when in Heracles' life? Is there anything like a coherent biography of Heracles in archaic epic, and if so, what do we make of it?

Heracles does have a life story in archaic Greek thought, which was told by authors such as Peisander and Panyassis.[9] However, Aristotle complains that epic accounts of Heracles' life remain episodic and their narrative trajectory weak.[10] We cannot, of course, check Aristotle's views against the texts that he was reading, for the simple reason that they are lost. What we do have is the material record, and that points in a similar direction: like Theseus and Odysseus, Heracles does well in the visual arts because the structure of his life – at least in archaic times – appears to have been conceived more as a pool of episodes than a synthetic narrative.[11] Within this pool, each episode could emblematically represent his life as a whole

[6] The theme of the 'best of the Achaeans' has been explored by Nagy 1999; Nagy 1990a: 13 discusses the reference to Heracles as ἄριστος ἐπιχθονίων in *Homeric Hymn* 15.1–2.

[7] Hesiod fr. 1.22.

[8] Modern scholars disagree about the date of composition and authorship of the *Catalogue*; Janko 1982 argues for a date of composition just before that of the *Theogony*. West 1985a suggests a date of 580–520 and excludes Hesiodic authorship. Against him, Dräger 1997 argues strongly for Hesiod as the author of the *Catalogue*. Without wishing to settle the question here, I suggest that, for the purposes of this paper, we treat the *Catalogue of Women* as a traditional Hesiodic text. The ancient sources are almost unanimous, and no matter when exactly the poem was first written down in its current form, and by whom, it was soon regarded as the centrepiece in the Hesiodic triad *Theogony – Catalogue of Women – Works and Days*. For ancient attributions to Hesiod, see the testimonia collected in Merkelbach–West 1967; for further discussion see Clay 2003: 164–6; Graziosi–Haubold forthcoming: Chapter 2.

[9] For Peisander's *Herakleia* see *PEG* I, 164–7; *EGF* 129–35; for Panyassis, *Herakleia*, see Matthews 1974; *PEG* I, 171–87; *EGF* 113–29. Other relevant material is listed in *Der Neue Pauly s.v.* Herakles, Mythos.

[10] Arist. *Poetics* Chapter 8 (1451a.16–22).

[11] For documentation of the iconography see *LIMC* vols. IV–V *s.v.* Herakles.

and could in turn be represented by an individual scene. Where more episodes are brought together, they tend to form visual catalogues.[12]

Now, although later writers such as Diodorus or Apollodorus tell us precisely what Heracles did when,[13] it is quite clear that in most archaic contexts the question whether he first killed the Hydra or caught the Erymanthian boar would have been nonsensical. The point was that he did both, not when he did which.[14] The issue of narrative progression did occasionally arise, at least as a possibility, but a straightforward sequence of events can rarely be taken for granted. The metopes of the Zeus temple in Olympia are a good example of the complications one encounters.[15] There clearly was a built-in sequence to the labours: Heracles starts as a young man and ends up in old age.[16] Luckily for us, he looks youngest in the labour which is traditionally regarded to have been his first (the Nemean Lion) and grows visibly older in supposedly later ones. Clearly, the metopes construct a biographical narrative of sorts, which, once acknowledged, makes a difference to our reading of each single episode. Yet, it is equally clear that Pausanias at least shows little sign of recognising this putative order. In his description of the metopes,[17] he starts in the middle of the sequence and works his way first towards the end and then back to the beginning. The Nemean Lion comes last in his list. Rather than supposing that Pausanias is playing a clever game, we should perhaps assume that he simply did not care.[18] But whatever the case may be, the point is that he did not *have* to care. With Heracles, we are always free to ignore the story, even if someone tries hard to tell one.

What, then, of the *Catalogue*? Does it construct anything like a meaningful progression of Heracles' life, meaningful to those readers who do care? Let us go through the text as we have it, always bearing in mind that much of it is still missing. To avoid confusion, I begin with fr. 195 and work my way from the birth of Heracles to his death in fr. 25. In other words, I piece together Heracles' life by reading the *Catalogue* back to front, paying particular attention to the ways in which individual episodes combine to form a larger narrative. If this seems a strange way of approaching the text, I

[12] *LIMC* vol. V *s.v.* Herakles A. Herakles Dodekathlos.

[13] Diod. Sic. 4.7.4–53.7; Apollod. 2.4.5–7.7.

[14] See, e.g., Kirk 1974: 181: 'Some of the relative chronology is arbitrary and was under dispute even by the fifth century; for instance, it is not clear whether he [sc. Heracles] killed his children by Megara before the Labours or . . . just afterwards. Nor does it matter much.'

[15] *LIMC* vol. V.1 no. 1705.

[16] See Ashmole–Yalouris 1967: 24, Ashmole 1972: Chapter 3, esp. pp. 66, 88.

[17] Pausanias 5.10.9.

[18] The rationale behind the order of Pausanias' description appears to be that of the sightseeing tour, starting with the ναός at the front of the temple and moving on to the ὀπισθόδομος at the back.

ask for the reader's patience until, equipped with a better understanding of the relevant passages, we can return to the question of what – if anything – the curious order of Heracles' adventures in the *Catalogue* might mean.

Fr. 195, preserved in the opening lines of the *Shield of Heracles*, tells of Heracles' birth and the plan of Zeus to create a champion for gods and men.[19] The birth of Heracles late in the poem is expressly cast as the beginning not just of a human life but of a much larger narrative. The proportions are truly cosmic: Zeus, the father of gods and men (*Aspis* 27), is busy weaving a plot (μῆτις *Aspis* 28, cf. μητίετα *Aspis* 33) from which all his offspring, gods and men, will profit. He fulfils his desire in *Aspis* 36, but this is clearly not the end of the matter.

Heracles' labours (ἀέθλοι) duly follow in fr. 190.[20] The text is poorly preserved and does not allow us to say much more than that they were mentioned late in the *Catalogue*, and that Eurystheus is cast as Heracles' master.[21] This sits reasonably well with the birth narrative, although we note that Eurystheus has replaced Zeus as Heracles' employer. Going back in the text one step further, we hear of Heracles sacking Troy (fr. 165).[22] Once again, the passage is fragmentary, but two things may be noted: we have started thinking about Heracles' motivations, and he is no longer acting purely on someone else's behalf, be it Zeus or Eurystheus. Secondly, the matter is no longer one of saving gods and men. Laomedon, of course, is in the wrong, as anyone will appreciate in view of the story of how Heracles came to desire his horses.[23] But the text does not seem particularly interested in Laomedon. Instead, we are told that Heracles wanted the best horses in Asia and, by the way, slept with Auge and fathered Telephus.[24] This is new: Heracles has not so far expressed any wishes of his own.

The problem of his motivations – and hence the nature of his actions – becomes more acute in fr. 43a.[25] Heracles is here said to have sacked

[19] The Introduction (ὑπόθεσις) which survives in the manuscripts of the *Shield of Heracles* places the fragment in Book 4 of the *Catalogue*. Its precise place in the Pelopid stemma is determined by POxy 2355 and 2494A. Zeus' plan to create a champion for gods and men is recounted at *Aspis* 28–9.

[20] Fr. 190 belongs in the Pelopid stemma and hence Book 4 of the *Catalogue* (see above n. 19); cf. West 1985a: 109–10.

[21] Hesiod fr. 190.9–12.

[22] Fr. 165 belongs in the Arcadian stemma, which may have stood in Book 3 or possibly Book 4 of the *Catalogue* (West 1985a: 90–1). At any rate, it seems to have come immediately before the stemma of the Atlantids, as West 1985a: 42 suggests on the basis of POxy 1359, and as the parallel arrangement in Book 3 of Apollodorus, *Bibl.* confirms (cf. West 1985a: 44).

[23] Told at Homer, *Iliad* 5.647–51. [24] Fr. 165.8–9.

[25] The fragment describes the descendants of Sisyphus and thus belongs in the Aeolid stemma, which appears to have covered Book 1 and parts of Book 2 of the *Catalogue*. Fr. 10a, in conjunction with Apollodorus, makes it clear that the descendants of Aeolus' sons were treated after those of his

Eurypylus' 'lovely city' 'from a minor beginning' (ἀρχῆς ἐξ ὀλίγης).[26] I find it hard to gauge just what ἀρχὴ ὀλίγη is supposed to mean here.[27] The context is difficult – Lobel even suggests that v. 59 belongs elsewhere. Whatever we decide to do with the text, there is no escaping the question what on earth Heracles is doing sacking lovely cities. Is this still part of his brief to ward off disaster from gods and humans? Is it a labour? Incidentally, we are told that it happened on his way back from Troy, and once again the beautiful horses – and not the crime of Laomedon – are mentioned as the reason for that enterprise. Another ἀρχὴ ὀλίγη, perhaps? The sacking of a lovely city for no apparent reason, and focalised through the eyes of the victim (τῶι in v. 61), begins to tip the balance against Heracles. It comes almost as a shock when we are assured in v. 65 that he also went on to kill the overweening Giants in Phlegra. There is of course no problem with that, except that we seriously start wondering what kind of a world it is that this man inhabits, and what kind of actions it calls for. Is the slaying of overweening Giants the same as the sacking of a lovely city 'from a small beginning'? Where do our sympathies lie: with Heracles, or with his opponents?

The question is met head-on in frr. 33–5. We are now in Book 1 of the *Catalogue*; the context is the Neleid stemma, and on this occasion we hear of Heracles' siege of Pylos.[28] No explanation is given why the city had to fall, but something like a rationale is implicit in the way the narrative unfolds. Periclymenus, one of the sons of Neleus, has been given the ability to transform himself into any creature.[29] This ability is to become his downfall,

daughters: see West 1985a: 39–40, Dräger 1997: 53 n. 29. Fr. 43a thus comes to stand in the latter half of the Aeolid stemma, though there is some uncertainty about its precise place. Much depends on the order in which the sons of Aeolus were treated. Merkelbach–West 1967 assume the sequence Salmoneus – Cretheus – Sisyphus – Perieres – Deion – Athamas; West 1985a argues for Salmoneus – Cretheus – Minyas – Athamas – Perieres – Deion – Sisyphus; in either case, fr. 43a comes to stand after frr. 33–5, though the distance between them varies considerably. Without insisting on a different order, Dräger 1997: Chapter 3 considers putting the families of Salmoneus and Cretheus at the end of the sequence; this would involve placing frr. 33–5 after fr. 43a.

[26] Hesiod fr. 43a.61.

[27] Are we to take it that Heracles is going too far? There do not seem to be any close verbal parallels in epic (*LfgrE s.v.* ἀρχή B 1), and Homer, *Iliad* 15.24–30 does little to clarify matters. Apollodorus reports at 2.7.1 that the sack of Cos arose from a misunderstanding on the part of the Coans. Elsewhere, we hear that a fight over a ram escalated into a full-blown war (Plut., *Mor.* 304c–e). Some of this material may be old, but the point of the Hesiodic passage seems to be not so much to allude to one specific version of the story which we can no longer reconstruct but to emphasise the disproportionate nature of the conflict.

[28] For the place of frr. 33–5 relative to fr. 43a, see above, n. 25. Stephanus of Byzantium assigns the Neleid stemma to Book 1 of the *Catalogue*; see fr. 34. Moreover, it appears from a stichometric symbol that line 10 of fr. 33a was line 700 of Book 1; see West 1985a: 41–2.

[29] Hesiod fr. 33a.13–18.

but first he kills many others fighting around the walls of his father's city.[30] Heracles is introduced as his main opponent. With the help of Athena, and indirectly also Apollo, he defeats the rampaging Periclymenus.[31] This is great value for us and good press for Heracles, who wins the duel after enduring much grief (v. 24 ἄτλητον ἄχος). But then the tone changes. So far, Periclymenus has been doing the killing (vv. 19–22), and in this context Heracles is called ταλασίφρων, 'with an enduring mind'.[32] However, after his victory and the sack of Pylos, it is Heracles' victim Neleus who gets the epithet ταλασίφρων.[33] Heracles is now the one who kills without mercy,[34] slaughtering eleven brothers who are characterised as the 'good' (fr. 35.6 ἐσθλοί) sons of their father. By sheer chance (v. 8 ἐτύχησε), only Nestor survives what has by now come to be known as the 'death and black doom' administered by Heracles (fr. 35.9). This sounds alarmingly like Nestor's own thoroughly hostile account of Heracles' activities in *Iliad* 11.[35] What has happened to the narrative of salvation we were promised at Heracles' birth? The monsters have turned into victims.

Two more episodes from Heracles' life have been placed: his sack of Oechalia in fr. 26 and his death and apotheosis in fr. 25.[36] The Oechalia episode is again fragmentary, and seems to have been very short; in fact, we can only just recognise the theme.[37] Yet, two interesting points stand out. Heracles once again sacks a city instead of killing a monster, and for a reason that is distinctly problematic. This time, the cause is, rather tellingly, a woman. Did Heracles not already have one? – of course this is not said. But τῆς ἕνεκα 'for the sake of her' corresponds closely to the view of the Trojan War as being fought εἵνεκα κούρης 'for the sake of a/the maiden' in Book 5 of the *Catalogue*.[38] And just as Agamemnon is killed in its aftermath by his wife, Clytemnestra, so Heracles finally succumbs to his wife, Deianeira, in fr. 25. It matters that this happens so relatively early in the text,[39] because in terms of the *Catalogue*'s overall narrative trajectory, the passage feels 'late'. Whereas the women of fr. 1 unproblematically engage in sex with the gods (Heracles apparently among them), the crisis of marriage marks the end of the *Catalogue* and also of the era of the demigods. Immortal men (gods) can

[30] Hesiod fr. 33a.19–22. [31] Hesiod fr. 33a.22–36. [32] Hesiod fr. 33a.28.
[33] Hesiod fr. 35.6. [34] Compare Hesiod fr. 33a.19, 21–2 with fr. 35.6.
[35] Homer, *Iliad* 11.687–95, where Heracles' sack of Pylos is twice characterised by the term κακοῦν, 'to ruin'.
[36] Fr. 5 of POxy 2481 shows that fr. 25 (col. ii) stood just before fr. 26 (col. iii); see West 1985a: 37, with n. 19. Together, they belong among the descendants of Calyce, daughter of Aeolus, which makes them part of the first half of the Aeolid family; cf. West 1985a: 62.
[37] Hesiod fr. 26.32. [38] Hesiod fr. 196.4.
[39] West 1985a: 75 suggests that the fragment may have stood at lines 450–89 or, less likely, lines 344–83 of Book 1.

and should have many partners; mortal men should not. In a sense, then, the end of the *Catalogue*, its narrative *telos*, catches up with Heracles in fr. 25. And there is more. Heracles dies as πτολίπορθος, 'sacker of cities'.[40] The end of his career directly follows on from his latest exploits. Having left in his trail so many ruined cities (Oichalia, Pylos, Cos, Troy), Heracles has himself become disposable. He is now entirely passive. The 'deed' is Deianeira's (fr. 25.20); Heracles is at the receiving end: (δεξαμένωι v. 24). We could not have moved further away from the narrative of his birth in fr. 195.

Of course, that is not all: there follows Heracles' apotheosis. I will come to that in a moment, but first let me recapitulate. The extant episodes of Heracles' career as we find them in the *Catalogue* do not, perhaps, make for a coherent biography. But they do have a certain cumulative effect. Connections are drawn between the Troy and Cos narratives (frr. 165 and 43a), and between the sack of Oichalia and Heracles' death (frr. 26 and 25). More generally, the fact that Heracles has become a sacker of cities and lover of women by the time of his death informs the manner of his demise, so that at the very least we can say that the text gestures towards a biographical trajectory. Each episode involving Heracles contributes to this narrative sequence, which is framed by the birth of the ἀρῆς ἀλκτήρ on the one hand and the death of the πτολίπορθος on the other. On balance, this suggests that the order of episodes does matter after all. A comparison with the treatment of Heracles in the *Theogony* may prove illuminating in this context.

The *Theogony* depicts Heracles in a similar way to the *Catalogue*, in the sense that once again his appearances are scattered apparently haphazardly across the poem. But there are also interesting differences. In the *Theogony*, the first passages about Heracles concern his labours: the cattle of Geryoneus, Cerberus, the Hydra, and the Nemean Lion.[41] We then move on to the episode where Heracles frees Prometheus, 'not against the will of Zeus'.[42] I say 'we move on', because the text itself creates a sense of progression: we hear that Prometheus is freed ' . . . so that the fame of Theban Heracles might be even greater than before on the nourishing earth' (vv. 530–1). This suggests that Heracles has been busy solving problems for some time. The next two passages that are relevant occur near the end of the *Theogony*. The first succinctly describes Heracles' birth (vv. 943–4).

[40] Hesiod fr. 25.23. Only . . .]ρθωι at the end of the line can be read, but the restoration seems certain; cf. Hesiod fr. 229.17.

[41] Hesiod, *Theog.* 287–94, 308–18, 326–32. [42] Hesiod, *Theog.* 526–34.

The second, longer one, describes his apotheosis after the end of his toils.[43] Although we note that once again the birth narrative is postponed until late, it is rather played down in the *Theogony*. Instead, we focus on Heracles' epitaph: he makes Hebe his wife 'having completed his painful labours' (v. 951). The word ἀέθλοι points back to the adventures that are mentioned earlier in the text. This is the end of Heracles' theogonic career.[44]

It would be unhelpful to press the details, but there does seem to be a tendency in the *Theogony* to mention episodes from Heracles' career in the order in which we are encouraged to imagine them occurring, just as in the *Catalogue* we saw that we tend to look at Heracles' life in backward motion. Now, this point can be correlated with another observation: the implied biographies of Heracles in the *Theogony* and in the *Catalogue* differ not only in the order in which events are mentioned in the texts. There is also a difference in emphasis. Whereas the *Theogony* concentrates on Heracles' so-called labours, the *Catalogue* appears to be more interested in the exploits he undertook after having parted with Eurystheus. As a result, he encounters monsters in the former and women and cities in the latter. Apollodorus would say that the *Theogony* deals mostly with the first half of Heracles' life, whereas the *Catalogue* deals with the second. This sits well with the fact that in other ways too the *Catalogue* presents itself as a sequel to the *Theogony*. However, we must beware of unduly simplifying matters.

Biographical completeness is always a construct, and there are important ways in which both the *Theogony* and the *Catalogue* encompass a 'complete' life of Heracles. Both texts mention his birth and death. And both encourage us to fill out the intervening space. It may help to recall the Olympia metopes at this point. In terms of Apollodorus' life story, they only deal with a fraction of Heracles' career, his labours; and yet they too gesture towards encompassing the whole of his life. The matter, then, is not one of biography in the trivial sense of full coverage. What is at stake here is an issue of interpretation – or, shall we say, of narrative perspective. Depending on how we look at Heracles, we will see different things and tell a different story. This becomes clearer when we consider the end of his career.

When Heracles becomes a god at the end of the *Theogony* and in Book 1 of the *Catalogue*, his life is retrospectively summarised. The similarities are immediately obvious. He goes to Olympus, marries Hebe, and leaves behind his earthly career. However, the differences are equally glaring. In

[43] There can be no question that these lines – or the parallel passage in the *Catalogue* (fr. 25.26–33) – should be athetised; see Dräger 1997: 9–12.

[44] After the end, we return to the beginning: the catalogue of goddesses mentions Geryoneus, the first of Heracles' labours to appear in the *Theogony* (vv. 289–90 = vv. 982–3).

the *Theogony*, Heracles plays an active part: he 'makes' Hebe his wife (v. 953) after 'having completed his labours' (v. 951) and 'having done a great deed among the immortals' (v. 954). In the *Catalogue*, he merely 'has' her after having 'escaped all evils' (fr. 25.26). Completing the labours in the *Theogony* (the word is τελέσας) is just as strong a closural device as is 'escaping all evil' in the *Catalogue*. Both look back over an entire life, but the *Theogony* version reflects a view of Heracles as an ordering cosmic force, while that of the *Catalogue* tells of the 'evils' (κακά) into which this man got himself.

So, what I suggest happens to Heracles in the *Catalogue of Women* is not so much a life story, a narrative of how he progresses from birth to death, but a gradual shift of persona, from one akin to the *Theogony* to one akin to heroic epic. To put it differently, it is not really Heracles himself who changes, but the world around him, and the associated narrative register.

HERACLES IN EARLY GREEK EPIC

The time has come to put our view of Heracles in the *Catalogue* in a wider context. Broadly speaking, we can distinguish two ways of looking at Heracles in early Greek epic. On the one hand, there is the Heracles familiar from Homeric narrative, the loner who suffers and inflicts suffering indiscriminately. At the other end of the spectrum is the figure known to us chiefly from Hesiod's *Theogony*, where Heracles tidies up any messy bits left over from the process of cosmogony.[45] The difference need not be seen as a matter of historic development.[46] Nor should it be explained merely in terms of biographical focus, as though any epic text was free to put together its own portrayal of Heracles from the pool of known stories and motifs. Rather, the varying portrayals of Heracles alert us to the fact that in early Greek hexameter poetry internal, cosmic chronology crucially determines a text's generic outlook. The Heracles of the *Theogony* could not be the same as that of Homeric epic because these texts do not cover the same phase in cosmic history and therefore do not share the same narrative outlook.[47] In the *Theogony*, Heracles is seen in light of his cosmogonic function; by contrast, the Heracles of the Homeric poems is seen from the much later vantage point of heroic epic. Accordingly, he disposes of monsters in the former and murders his guests (ξεῖνοι) in the latter.[48]

To be sure, each tradition, as well as putting its particular spin on Heracles, also struggles to incorporate alternative points of view. That is

[45] As noted by Galinsky 1972b: 16. [46] Thus Galinsky 1972b: Chapter 1.
[47] This point is developed in greater detail in Graziosi–Haubold (forthcoming).
[48] Homer, *Od.* 21.22–30.

why Heracles in Homer can also appear as the agent of the will of Zeus.[49] And it explains Hera's negative role in the *Theogony*.[50] We also need to allow for competition between the traditions. Whereas the Homeric bard sees in Heracles a potential challenge to the heroes, Hesiodic epic appears to embrace him as part of its competitive stance *vis-à-vis* Homer.[51] There is some truth in this, but it is not the whole story.

It cannot be the whole story, because, as we have seen, the lines become blurred in the *Catalogue of Women*. There is, literally, a world of difference between Heracles' birth in fr. 195 and his death in fr. 25: in fr. 195 we see the champion of gods and men; in fr. 25 we see the man embroiled in 'evils'. The Heracles of fr. 195 is born into a world where women are freely available and subject to divine planning; the Heracles of fr. 25 suffers a horrific death at the hands of his own wife. Finally, the Heracles of fr. 195 is associated with Zeus, whose plan he embodies, whereas that of fr. 25 is a victim of Hera's hatred (and, eventually, the recipient of her favours).[52] Put thus starkly, the two figures hardly seem to belong to the same genre, let alone the same text. However, I suggest that the differences can be explained if we take into account the diverse narrative perspectives which the *Catalogue* combines.

Looking ahead from the formation of the cosmos, as Hesiodic poetry does in the *Theogony*, Heracles appears as an indispensable pillar of Zeus' emerging order. Looking back in time from the more civilised era of the Trojan War (essentially the Homeric perspective), he becomes himself an outsider and comes into conflict with the norms of a civilised human existence. I have suggested that the two are combined in the *Catalogue*, indeed, that the text suggests a transformation of Zeus' Heracles, the saviour figure promised in fr. 195, into Hera's Heracles, the man who desires and suffers, who goes around sacking cities for the sake of young women and is eventually killed by his own wife. The matter, I suggested, is one of cosmic chronology and shifting narrative perspectives, not merely of biographical focus. But still the question remains why the process is inverted. If Heracles lives his life backward in the Hesiodic *Catalogue*, not in the trivial sense of a reversed biography, but in the sense that we move from the heroic man of fr. 25 to the cosmogonic saviour of fr. 195, then we now need to turn to my third question: what does all this tell us about the *Catalogue of Women*?

[49] Homer, *Il.* 15.24–30 (Zeus himself is speaking).

[50] Hesiod, *Theog.* 314–15.

[51] For Homer, see esp. *Il.* 5.627–62; for Hesiod, see the *Aspis*, which, from the time of Aristophanes of Byzantium, has been seen as an attempt to emulate Homer.

[52] This, too, is characteristic of Heracles as seen in heroic epic. In the *Iliad*, Hera determines Heracles' future career entirely against the will of Zeus: Homer, *Il.* 19.95–133.

THE *CATALOGUE OF WOMEN*: AN EPIC BETWEEN TIMES AND GENRES

We saw that the *Theogony*, with its relatively uncomplicated teleology, not only focuses on Heracles as a champion of the cosmic order but also sees his career as running roughly parallel to the overall narrative trajectory. I now want to suggest that the more complicated order of Heracles' life in the *Catalogue* correlates with this text's more complicated generic outlook. Like Heracles himself, the *Catalogue of Women* is suspended between two stages of world history, and two associated narrative perspectives. On the one hand, it is a sequel of the *Theogony* with its focus on the gods and its overarching teleological optimism. On the other hand, it leads into the world of the *Works and Days*, with its human outlook and equally pronounced pessimism.[53] What happens between frr. 1 and 204 is a complicated process of transformation not only of the cosmos but also of Hesiodic narrative: from a theogonic to a heroic and – eventually – a gnomic voice. This process is not a linear one: unlike the *Theogony*, with its relatively coherent genealogical framework, the *Catalogue* divides into clearly separate family lines, which means that the distance between theogonic beginnings and later times has to be travelled more than once. Indeed, the *Catalogue*'s constant intermingling of human and divine characters, its marked interest in aetiology, its fondness for rupturing the chronological fabric of the story by introducing narratives of metamorphosis all suggest a relationship between different times and genres that is essentially fluid. Into this rich tapestry of temporalities and voices the *Catalogue* weaves the thread of Heracles' adventures. But to what effect?

I suspect the answer, as far as there is one, lies in the account of his birth. The narrative of Heracles' birth is not simply postponed but rather juxtaposed with that of the Trojan War near the end of the text. Together, they mark the climax of the cosmogonic process that started at *Theogony* 116. Just as the Trojan War ends the period of closeness between gods and humans, so the birth of Heracles heralds the completion of cosmogony in a more obviously positive sense: after gods and men are born, there needs to be someone to look after them. In other words, the birth of Heracles late in the text ensures that what has gone before does not dissolve into a jumble of genealogical detail but can still be seen as part of an overarching divine plan. Zeus still cares. And despite appearances, there still *is* a cosmogonic

[53] This I take to be the upshot of the fragmentary and highly obscure end of fr. 204. For discussion, see West 1961; Koenen 1994: 26–34; Cerutti 1998; Clay 2003: 169–74; Cingano (this volume).

design at work, which we can discover if we are prepared to look beneath the narrative surface.

Alcmene is born and survives the slaughter of her family in fr. 193; Menelaus and Agamemnon are born at the beginning of fr. 195; then comes the birth of Heracles. Martin West suggests that it was followed by a recapitulation of his death and apotheosis and by a moderately extensive stemma of Heracles' line.[54] There then follows the Trojan War.[55] The birth of Heracles does not obviously belong in the Pelopid stemma, and there is more than a suggestion that the apparently clumsy manoeuvring between the families (and epic traditions) sets up an important parallel.[56] This is borne out by what follows. Let us focus for a moment on the phrase μήδετο θέσκελα ἔργα, which is used to describe Zeus planning the birth of Heracles in fr. 195 (*Aspis* 34). The phrase is unparalleled in Hesiod except for a passage soon afterwards, where it marks the beginning of the end of the demigods (fr. 204.96). In each case, Zeus works 'wondrous deeds' under the cover of a heroic war – in Book 5, the Trojan War, and in Book 4, Amphitryon's war against the Taphians and Teleboans.[57] The Taphian affair may seem insignificant but there can be little doubt about its heroic credentials. Amphitryon and his enemies are characterised as 'heroes' (*Aspis* 19, 37), and Amphitryon himself is introduced as an Agamemnon figure, 'shepherd of the people' (*Aspis* 41) and commander of a miniature catalogue of contingents from Boeotia, Locris and Phocis (*Aspis* 23–6). Yet, just as in the *Catalogue of Women* the Trojan War does not seem to be much more than a pretext (πρόφασις fr. 204.99) for Zeus' much more ambitious plan, so Amphitryon's war emphatically is not the point of the Alcmene-*ehoie*.[58]

The father of gods and men is 'weaving another plan' (*Aspis* 28), and what he weaves is no less than the climax of the entire cosmogonic process. From now on, there will be a champion for gods and men. This is introduced as a ruse (*Aspis* 30 δόλος) which Zeus harbours deep down in his mind (βυσσοδομεύων). It does not lie on the surface; the cosmic narrative is hidden deep beneath the heroic moment. And yet the two are inseparably intertwined. Ironies abound. Amphitryon is ἀρεῖος, 'warlike' (*Aspis* 2), but

[54] West 1985a: 112–14. [55] Hesiod frr. 196–204.

[56] Cf. West 1985a: 144, n. 39: 'Herakles belongs genetically in this stemma [i.e. of the Inachids], although in the *Catalogue* his birth is not recorded until the Pelopid stemma.'

[57] In Homer, the phrase θέσκελα ἔργα tends to be used of objects or events that one can see or hear at first hand; see Homer, *Il.* 3.130 (visual), *Il.* 23.107 (visual), *Od.* 11.610 (visual), *Od.* 11.374 (of hearing). Against this background, the Hesiodic usage, which encourages us to look beneath the surface, seems pointed.

[58] The meaning of πρόφασις at fr. 204.99 has been much discussed. I follow the interpretation of West 1961: 130–6 and Koenen 1994: 28–9; for a different view, see Clay 2003: 170 n. 75 and above, p. 30.

Heracles will ward off ἀρή, 'ruin' (*Aspis* 29). Amphitryon accomplishes a 'great deed' (*Aspis* 22 and 38), and can hope for the support of Zeus (v. 22); yet the 'wondrous deeds' of the god trump the 'great deed' of the hero. The stark comparison of *Aspis* 50–1 brings home the fact that this story has been unfolding on two narrative planes at the same time. The difference between them is not merely one of quality (divine versus human), but rather, to use once again that slightly overworked term, one of narrative perspective. The world of Amphitryon is that of heroic epic, complete with heroes, shepherds of the people, *kudos*. As such, it is dwarfed by the world of Zeus, which is theogonic: the names Typhaonion and Phikion define less a place than a time and an attendant generic backdrop.[59] Typhoeus posed the last great challenge to Zeus' rule. And perhaps it is not irrelevant that in the *Theogony* the Phix – or Sphinx – is the sister of the Nemean Lion.[60]

The birth of Heracles, then, happens early and late at the same time: it is set both in the world of the *Theogony* and in the heroic world of Homer. Indeed, it becomes a crucial lynchpin that holds the two planes together, and we can now understand better the nature of Heracles' strange career in the *Catalogue*. If it was indeed the text's aim to combine the world of cosmogony with that of heroic and post-heroic epic, there could hardly have been a better character to think with than Heracles. He was always a complex figure – god and man, saviour and monster, sufferer and buffoon. However, the *Catalogue* goes far beyond simply thrashing out the clichés of Heracles' ambivalent nature. His oddly inverted life story, however much of it we are still missing, challenges us to think against the grain, encouraging us, on the one hand, to discover theogonic purpose beneath the surface of an increasingly bewildering array of human genealogies, while at the same time inscribing human history and human suffering into the prim cosmic structure which we inherit from the *Theogony*. Heracles in the *Catalogue* invites us to read between the lines and in more than one direction at once. Nowhere is this more palpable than at the moment when he is born: we need two stories, not one – two protagonists, two births, two narrative registers. More generally, it seems to me that this kind of sophisticated narrative, which combines perspectives and registers rather than 'telling the story', is characteristic of the *Catalogue* as a whole.

[59] *Aspis* 32–4. [60] Hesiod, *Theog.* 326–7.

CHAPTER 5

Mestra at Athens: Hesiod fr. 43 and the poetics of panhellenism

Ian Rutherford

INTRODUCTION: PANHELLENIC POETICS

The genealogical poetry, of which the *Catalogue* is one example, must have evolved over many centuries, and it seems likely that it is at least as old, if not older than, epic narrative poetry.[1] Or perhaps we should think of two parallel traditions: narrative poetry, focusing on the deeds of men, the κλέα ἀνδρῶν, and genealogical poetry, presented as a register of women, who generate the genealogies by giving birth. These two traditions of poetry may influence each other in some ways, as famously in the catalogue of heroines in the Odyssean *Nekuia*, but in other ways their relationship may be one of competition, as for example in the case of the discrepancies between the accounts of Ajax's kingdom in the Homeric 'Catalogue of Ships' and the catalogue of Helen's suitors in the *Catalogue*.[2] The canonical or quasi-canonical *Ehoiai* must be the result of a process of evolution that spanned many centuries, and it is likely that this sort of poetry was particularly accommodating of expansions and modifications (cf. Marcotte 1988). For example, any single *ehoie* could in principle be expanded, as the Hesiodic *Aspis* purports to be an expansion of the Alcmene-*ehoie*.[3] Thus, we might do well to think of this sort of poetry as existing in numerous multiforms.[4]

We are beginning to get a better sense of the ways in which the poem dealt with Greek genealogical traditions. All students of the *Catalogue* owe much to Martin West's monograph (=West 1985a), of course, and more recently to Jonathan Hall's work on ethnography, and to Robert Fowler's work on genealogy.[5] There are, however, still formidable problems. To begin with, our knowledge of the *Catalogue* remains precariously hypothetical, a

Thanks to all the participants in the Cambridge conference, particularly John Henderson ('I was hungry and it was your world'), and also to Kathryn Stoddard (see the section on 'Blighted progeny').

[1] Kakridis 1972. [2] Rutherford 2000; Most 1992; Naiden forthcoming.

[3] Cf. Martin (this volume). Another example might be the *Wedding of Ceyx*, which may have been included in the *Catalogue*.

[4] For this term, cf. Finkelberg 2000. [5] West 1985a, Hall 1997, Fowler 1998.

tenuous structure based on a conjecture wrapped in a tissue of guess work. And secondly, even if we can establish that such and such a feature was part of the *Catalogue*, how can we tell that it originated in catalogue poetry, rather than being part of a much more general mythographic tradition? But through the fog of these major problems, certain features are becoming clear. In its earlier stages, the focus of this *ehoie*-poetry was probably northern Greece, Thessaly and in fact the area corresponding to the Delphic Amphictyony, as Fowler 1998 has recently argued.[6] The massive stemma of the Deucalionids may have made up the whole poem at one point. And then the other major stemmata of other areas of Greece were added: the Inachidai, the Arcadians, the Atlantides, the Asopides, the Athenians, the Pelopidai.

In theory, all these stemmata might have been presented as entirely independent, both of the Deucalionid stemma and of each other. In fact, we find a tendency towards overlaps between the different stemmata, and towards a combination of traditions from different parts of Greece. For example, the Dorians are normally represented as late arrivals in the Peloponnese, displacing earlier populations. In genealogical terms, that would be coded as the migration into the Peloponnese of the descendants of Doris, who was a son of Hellen, who was a son of Deucalion. And this migration would complement or displace the earlier inhabitants of the Peloponnese, the Inachids. But when the important fragment from Book 1 was published in 1981, fr.10a, it turned out that in all likelihood a link was made right at the top of the family tree between Doris and Phoroneus, son of Inachus, the native founder of Argos. The Dorians turn out to be the product of union between Doris and the daughter of Phoroneus. The daughter of Phoroneus is a 'fracture-point', to use Hall's convenient term, linking the two genealogies. So when the Dorians invade, they are really restoring the original Argive line.[7] To take another example, Athens was famous in later periods for having a more or less autochthonous genealogical tradition which had few connections with the rest of Greece. But links were nevertheless created. Consider, for example, the genealogy of Ion: in *Catalogue* fr. 10a he is son of the Deucalionid Xouthos and of Creousa, who is from the autochthonous Athenian tradition, daughter of Erechtheus.[8]

We do not know for sure that it was the poets who made these sorts of connection, but they all but certainly did, and I would like to stress the significance of the creation of these sorts of links between stemmata.

[6] See below, p. 115. [7] There is a good discussion of this in Hall 1997.

[8] Ion is brother of Achaeus, and this detail has been thought to reconcile two conflicting claims about the original home of the Ionians, Achaea in the north Peloponnese and Athens; see Parker 1987: 206.

Hence my 'panhellenic poetics', by which I mean not a system of poetics common to the whole of Greece but rather the enterprise, through poetry, of reconciling and building connections between myths and genealogical traditions from different parts of Greece.

BLIGHTED PROGENY. THE STORY OF SISYPHUS AND THE *EHOIE* OF MESTRA

Fragment 43a of the *Catalogue* tells the story of how Sisyphus tried to secure Mestra, the daughter of Erysichthon, as wife for his son Glaucus. In genealogical terms, Erysichthon was his nephew, since Sisyphus and Erysichthon's father Triopas were both sons of Aeolus. Sisyphus' plans are thwarted by the circumstances of Erysichthon and his daughter: Erysichthon has been afflicted with continual hunger (usually understood to have been sent by Demeter for cutting down a sacred tree), and to satisfy this hunger he markets his daughters to a series of husbands; Mestra is able to extricate herself from her marital commitments with particular ease because she has been given the gift of shape-shifting by Poseidon. Erysichthon is usually located in Thessaly, but in the *Catalogue*, surprisingly, he seems to be set in Athens, as we will see. The Erysichthon myth is dealt with by two later poets. In his *Hymn to Demeter*, Callimachus narrates the myth (locating it on the island of Cos), but concentrates on the hunger without mentioning Mestra. Ovid has a version in Book 8 of the *Metamorphoses*, which includes both hunger and Mestra and some unusual variations of his own. Neither Callimachus nor Ovid makes a connection with Sisyphus.[9]

In the *Catalogue*, the conflict between Erysichthon and Sisyphus is at the heart of the story. Sisyphus and Erysichthon go to law, and apparently seek resolution through arbitration. The immediate outcome of the arbitration is not clear, but even if Glaucus got Mestra back, he could not hold on to her for long, because at this point the narrative changes direction: Mestra is taken off to Cos by Poseidon, where she had children, and then she returns. Meanwhile, Sisyphus tries to find a second wife for Glaucus, and seeks the hand of Eurynome, daughter of the hero, Nisus of Megara,[10] but she too is abducted by Poseidon. This story is similar to other narratives in the *Catalogue* in two respects. First, and trivially, it is one of a class of narratives in the *Catalogue* that have to do with wooing. Other examples are the wooing of Pero, the story of Atalanta, and the story of Helen, with which

[9] On these versions, cf. Hopkinson 1984; Bulloch 1977; Hunter (this volume) pp. 256–7.
[10] Though the grandfather is Athenian, cf. West 1985a: 107–8.

the *Catalogue* ends. Secondly, the action of the story makes use of magic; other examples would be Iphiclus, son of Clymene, who ran so fast that he did not touch the crops (fr. 62) and Periclymenus, another shape-changer (fr. 33a).[11]

As is well known, the structure of the *Catalogue* is basically genealogical, similar to, and ultimately a model for, that of the *Bibliotheca* of Apollodorus. It went through the major mythological families, narrating descendants in a linear manner, first daughters and then sons. The fact that fr. 43a seems to have begun with the formulaic introduction: 'Or such as Mestra . . .' might lead one to think that it would have come in the narration of the daughters of Aeolus at the start of the poem, since Aeolus' daughter Canace was mother by Poseidon of Erysichthon's father Triopas. But in fact fr. 43a probably came later on, in the account of Sisyphus, one of the sons of Aeolus (most likely in Book 2).[12] So while from the genealogical point of view fr. 43a relates the story of Sisyphus, because of the formal conventions of the *Catalogue*, it is framed not as: 'there was a man called Sisyphus' (still less: 'or such a man as Sisyphus' – there is no masculine equivalent of the *ehoie*-formula), but as: 'or such a woman as Mestra . . . whom Sisyphus tried to acquire for his son'. That is, it is introduced as the Mestra-*ehoie*. Thus, there is a tension between the episode's narrative function, a story about Sisyphus, and its form, a story about Mestra.[13]

The theme of this story of Sisyphus is that Zeus contrives to prevent him from having grandchildren, for reasons apparently unexplained. The most celebrated myth associated with Sisyphus, in fact the one that defines him, is that Sisyphus tried to achieve immortality, and for this reason was punished in Hades by the gods.[14] It is a very old myth, narrated already by Alcaeus and implied in the *Odyssey*.[15] In one version, this was linked to the myth of how he offended Zeus by telling Asopus that Zeus had abducted his daughter Aegina; Zeus then tried to kill Sisyphus, but Sisyphus cheated death, and remained alive.[16]

[11] There is also the case of Ceyx and Alcyone, who were transformed into birds: fr. 10a.83–9.

[12] If we consider the contents of one of the more important papyri of the catalogue, POxy 2495, besides Mestra it included the myth of Asclepius and Asterodeia (fr. 58), with Apollo and Tartarus (fr. 54a) and the myth of Autolycus (66). All of these can reasonably be placed in Book 2. For the possibility that Atalanta came in Book 3, cf. Meliadò 2003.

[13] Rutherford 2000. Finkelberg 1991 explores this contrast from a different point of view, suggesting that we might think of the basic genealogical structure, where descent follows the male line, interrupted by prominent women, such as Tyro, who by bearing a god's child occupy a position in the stemma without marriage to a hero.

[14] I would like to thank Kathryn Stoddard for clarifying my thoughts on this point.

[15] *Od.* 11.593–600, where Sisyphus is pictured in Hades, in a section adjacent to the Odyssean 'Catalogue of Heroines', which is generally considered closely related to the *Catalogue*.

[16] Gantz 1993: 219, *LIMC s.v.*

Zeus' action in fr. 43a is at least along the same lines, in so far as there too it is a form of immortality of which Zeus wants to deprive Sisyphus, albeit the vicarious immortality that comes through progeny.[17] The possibility obviously arises that fr. 43a presupposes that Sisyphus might already have tried to cheat death. That information would not necessarily have been provided in the poem, but it may have been. It does not seem to have been mentioned in the lines immediately preceding fr. 43a, at least if West is right in his interpretation of Polymele as a descendant of Deion (I cannot see any way of working Polymele into an account of Sisyphus' desire for immortality). But it may conceivably have been mentioned somewhere else in the poem, and one possibility is that it was related later on, in connection with the story of the Asopid Aegina in Book 4. This would not be the only occasion when connected events are narrated in different parts of the *Catalogue*, and apparently in reverse order.[18]

On the level of poetics, Sisyphus' failure to perpetuate his own line is made more embarrassing by the fact that his story is told within the frame of, and as a pretext to relate, the more successful lines of Erysichthon ('or such as Mestra') and Nisus ('or such as Eurynome'). Taking a broader perspective, however, the Sisyphus story as a whole seems to undercut the idea of stable genealogy: not only can Sisyphus not acquire a wife for his son, but Mestra's Coan descendants are killed by Heracles for no good reason, and the Homeric version of the genealogy of Glaucus is thrown into doubt. The only other extant section of the poem which is so pessimistic about the continuation of heroic lineage is the 'Twilight of the Heroes' fragment, where Zeus decides to wipe out humanity.[19]

THE MESTRA-EHOIE. A READING

The narrative of Mestra survives in four papyri, a comparatively large number.[20] This was clearly a popular section of the poem in Roman Egypt. The papyri are: P. Cairo (PIFAO) 322, POxy 2495, POxy 421, and PBerol. 7497. POxy 421 and PBerol. 7497 were published almost a century ago, but the others were unknown before the 1960s. The text is about ninety lines long. The ancient papyri seem to have been written in columns of about twenty lines, so we have here about four columns' worth. The text was divided differently in different papyri. If we think of the text as arranged in

[17] Cf. Plato, *Symp.* 207d; on related ideas about immortality in Hinduism, see O'Flaherty 1973: 76–7.
[18] Cf. Haubold (this volume) on Heracles. [19] Cf. Cingano and Clay (this volume).
[20] For an English translation cf. Ormand 2004 (which appeared after my paper was completed). There is also an Italian translation by Colonna 1977, a German one by Marg 1970, and a Spanish one by Perez Jimenez and Martínez Díez 1978.

the Cairo papyrus, the surviving fragments come from columns 1, 2, and 3. POxy 2495 contributes a few significant fragments to column 3. The last column is restored from the other two papyri.

We can divide the fragments into several sections. The first (section 1) is the opening:[21]

ἢ᾽ οἵη θυγάτηρ Ἐρυσίχθονος ἀντι]θ̣έοιο
[ ]ο̣υ̣ Τριοπίδαο
Μήστρη ἐυπλόκαμος, Χαρίτων ἀ]μαρύγματ᾽ ἔχουσα·
τὸν δ᾽ Αἴθων᾽ ἐκάλεσσαν ἐπ]ώνυ[μ]μ[ο]ν εἵνεκα λιμοῦ
αἴθωνος κρατεροῦ φῦλα] θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων
[αἴθω]να δὲ λιμὸν ἅπαντες
[θ]νητο[ῖ]ς ἀνθρώποις
[πυκι]νὰ [φ]ρεσὶ μήδε᾽ ἰδ̣[υι–
[ ]θεᾳ̣ . . [.]ν. γε περν[
[γυ]ν̣αικῶν

Or such as the daughter of god-like Erysichthon

[ ] son of Triopas
Mestra with fair tresses, who shone like the Charites.
Him the tribes of mortal men called Aithon,
named after the strong burning famine.
bur]ning famine all men [ ]
for mortals [ ]
knowing frequent plans in her heart [ ]
. . . buy (?) [ ]
of women [

. .

Mestra is introduced as her father's daughter; the mother is not mentioned, as in other *ehoie*-narratives.[22] The name 'Aithon', 'the burner', restored here from line 37, is used also by Callimachus and by the historian Hellanicus (*FGrHist* 4 F7).[23] Aithon is, incidentally, the name that Odysseus adopts in one of his lying-narratives in the *Odyssey*, but that is perhaps unlikely to have anything to do with Erysichthon.[24]

After a break of several lines, we see what seems to be the account of a marriage (section 2).

[21] Immediately above is the end of the preceding *ehoie*: '. . . Polymele with fair garland'. This Polymele is probably a descendent of Deion, one of the sons of Aeolus (West 1985a: 37).

[22] The mother is omitted in the *ehoie* that begins the *Aspis* (= fr. 195), where we have the patronymic 'son of Electryon', and also in fr. 58.7. Both mother and father are, however, specified in fr. 26.5ff.

[23] Notice that Hellanicus (fr. 7 Jacoby) apparently made Erysichthon the son of Myrmidon.

[24] *Od.* 19.183; the name Aithon there is appropriate because, as Aithon, Odysseus 'warms Penelope up'. The name Aithon also occurs in a short poem of Theognis: see McKay 1961a. On Aithon in the *Odyssey*, see Levaniouk 2000.

[ ]. [
[ ]. .[. . . .]ẹτο τε[15
[ ]γειν[. . . κ]ούρη[
[ ]ọι κλ̣.[. . . .]. οισ[. . . . .]σι
[ἀπά]ṭησε πολύφρονά [πε]ρ μάλ᾽ ἐόντ[α
[κού]ρην ἑλικώπιδα κ[αλλ]ιπάρηον
[ ]ṭ᾽ ἄλοχον θυμαρέ᾽ ἄ[γε]ọθαι 20
[ ]γαρο[. . . . ὑπέσ]χετ[ο] μυρία ἕδνα
[ἑ]κατὸν[. . . . .]. ημερα δω[
[ ]. ων[. .]βοῶν ἀ[γέλα]ς ἐριμύκω[ν
[ ]ὀΐων .[. . . . .]ọα. αἰγῶν[
[εδέ]ξατο[. . . . .]ε θυμῶι 25

[Mestra?] deceived one who was very clever
wooing?] the girl with rolling eyes and fair cheeks [
] to take a wife who fitted his heart [20
] promised countless wedding gifts [
]hundred [
] herds of loud-roaring oxen [
] of sheep [ ] of goats [
] received [ ] in his heart

These lines probably describe Sisyphus acquiring Mestra for his son, though, depending on how we reconstruct the papyrus, it is possible that this is a previous wedding.

Section 2 comes at the bottom of the first column in the Cairo Papyrus, and after this the next section is on a new column, it being uncertain how many columns, if any, are lost in between. We know from Philodemus (fr. 43c) that the poem included an account of Poseidon's giving to Mestra the gift of metamorphosis, and it is possible, as Walter Marg suggested, that that account came before this section, in the previous lost column.[25]

When we rejoin the text, we find Mestra already married to the son of Sisyphus, and changing shape to run back to her father (section 3).

[ ]. δαυ[
[ ]. σας κρ[
[ ]. ọεπετ. [
[ ]. η τε γε[.]. ιτο καὶ ἐκ[30
[ ]ην· ἣ δὲ λυθ[εῖ]σα φίλου μ[ετὰ δώματα πατρὸς
ὤιχετ᾽] ἀπαΐξασα, γυνὴ δ᾽ ἄφαρ α[ὖτις ἔγεντο
πατρὸς ἐ]νὶ μεγάροισι· μετῆλθ̣[ε δὲ
[ ]δη παρὰ μητρὶ ἐπ̣ọ[ ]ῃọ

[25] Marg 1970.

ἀ]μφ[ὶς] δ᾽ ἤθελ᾽ ἄγειν κούρῃν[. . . . .]υ[35

[ ] And she set free went rushing off to the [home of her father]
and she at once [became] a woman in [her father's] house.
She went after [ ]
by her mother [ ]
He wanted to lead the girl away. [ ] 35

For Mestra, 'becoming a *gunê*' has a different meaning than the one applicable to most brides.[26] This is the only surviving reference in the text to the fact that she changed her form into an animal.

To resume, the next section is a quarrel between Sisyphus and Aithon (section 4):

αἶ]ψα [δ᾽ ἄ]ρ᾽ ἀ[λλ]ήλοισ[ι]ν ἔρις καὶ ν[εῖκος] ἐτ[ύχθη
Σισύφωι ἠδ᾽ Αἴθωνι τανισφύρο[υ εἵ]νεκα [κούρης,
ο]ὐδ᾽ ἄρα τις δικάσαι [δύ]νατο βροτός· ἀλλ᾽ αραπ[
ἐπ]έτρεψαν καὶ ἐπήινεσαν· ἣ δ᾽ ἄρα τοῖ [σιν
ἀ]τρεκέως διέθηκ[ε] δίκην δ.[40
᾽ε]ῦτέ τις ἀντ᾽ ὤνοιο χατίζηι χ[ρῆ]μ᾽ ἀνελ[έσθαι,
ἀ]μφὶ μάλα χρῆν ὤν[ον . . . . .]. τῖμον[
οὐ γ]ὰρ δὴ μεταμειπ[τόν, ἐπὴν τὰ] πρῶτ᾽ [ἀποδώηι.᾽᾽
. . .]αι[.]φη ταύτηι δεδ[. . . . .]ητα[
. . .]. ε . [. .]οὐρήων α. [45
. .]ε μεθ᾽ ἡμιόνους τ[
. . . . .]. [. .]μωνα[
. . . . .]σενδ[.] . . το[
. . . .]τοι μα[κ]άρων[
. . .]εν ελασσωνουν[50

At once strife and quarrel broke out |
between Sisyphus and Aithon over the slender-ankled [girl], |
nor could any mortal decide it. But [ ]
they entrusted and approved.
She decided (?) the suit for them accurately [ ]. 40
'When someone desires to take a thing in place of a price,
it was necessary [ ] price [ ] value.
It is not to be exchanged, when first he pays' [ ]

of mules [ ] 45
after asses [ ]

blessed gods [ ]
less [ ] 50

[26] I would like to thank Elizabeth Irwin for this observation.

Strife of course is an old Hesiodic theme.[27] The two litigants seek the arbitration of a female figure; Martin West suggests that this was the goddess Athene, though this requires the assumption that the papyrus contains an error, i.e. that αρατ (rather perhaps than αραπ) at the end of v. 38 is a misreading from the next line, and the correct reading is ἄρ' Ἀ[θήνηι. The arbitration episode has generated a major scholarly discussion.[28] Discussion has centred on what goes on, either what the dispute is about, or what the judgement is (does ἀνελέσθαι mean 'take' or 'take back'?), and what the outcome is (does Sisyphus win or Erysichthon?). The most plausible theory is that the judgement is about sale in general, 'caveat emptor', and Sisyphus comes off worse.[29] The arbitrator's judgement is highly obscure, but the best guess seems to be that he or she ruled that after something has been purchased, it cannot be exchanged. So this would seem to be an aetiology of an important principle of the law of sale, comparable to the aetiology of sacrifice in the *Works and Days*.[30]

Things become clearer at the top of the next column of papyrus A (section 5), where we return to Sisyphus:

> ἀ]νδρῶν δὲ προὔχεσκε νοήματά τε πραπ[ίδας τε,
> ἀ]λλ' οὔ πως ἤιδει Ζηνὸς νόον αἰγιόχοιο,
> ὡς οὔ οἱ δοῖεν Γλαύκωι γένος Οὐρανίωνες
> ἐκ Μήστρης καὶ σπέρμα μετ' ἀνθρώποισι λιπέσ[θαι. .
>
> He surpassed men in thought and intelligence,
> but in no way knew the mind of Zeus the aegis-bearer,
> that the Sons of Ouranos would not give Glaucus offspring
> from Mestra, and for his seed to be left among men.

This seems to conclude the episode of Sisyphus and Erysichthon. It could be taken to imply that Sisyphus lost the arbitration, though it is also possible that Sisyphus won, but still did not achieve his main aim of securing an heir.

In the next section (6), Mestra is taken to Cos.[31] Some people have assumed that this interlude in Cos is a flashback, narrating an episode

[27] See Nagler 1992. [28] Steinrück 1994 sets out the narratological possibilities in great detail.

[29] Cf. Osborne (this volume) pp. 19–20. At the Cambridge conference, Laura Slatkin made the point that Hesiod's wooing is a paradigm for exchange, and no text makes this clearer.

[30] Marg 1970: 436. For the interpretation of this section, see Brillante 1983b: 22–3; Steinrück 1994.

[31] In Theocritus' *Seventh Idyll*, the narrator says that his aristocratic Coan friends are descended from Khalkon (cf. Sherwin-White 1978: 307) and, according to a scholiast, Khalkon and Aristagoras welcomed Demeter in her search for Persephone. In another version, that of Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 2.7.1, Eurypylus is a son of Poseidon and the local Coan nymph or personification Astypalaia. The Coan episode is extremely interesting. There is not much independent reason to associate Erysichthon and Cos, although there is a general link between Thessaly and Cos. At *Iliad* 2.679, the Coan contingent is led by the two sons of Thessalos, and the poet Philitas seems to have said that Coan women were Thessalians (Sherwin-White 1978: 309). Cf. also Sordi 1958. What we find rather

that happened before Mestra married Glaucus, but that does not seem particularly likely:[32]

καὶ τὴν μέν ῥ᾽ ἐδάμασσε Ποσειδάων ἐνοσίχθ[ων
τῆλ᾽ ἀπὸ πατρὸς ἑοῖο φέρων ἐπὶ οἴνοπα πόν[τον
ἐν Κόωι ἀ[μ]φιρύτηι καίπερ πολύιδριν ἐοῦσα[ν·
ἔνθα τ̣ἐ̣κ᾽ Εὐρύπυλον πολέων ἡγήτορα λαῶ[ν
Κω . . . α γείνατο παῖδα βίην ὑπέροπλον ἔ̣[χοντα.
τοῦ δ᾽ υἱεῖς Χάλκων τε καὶ Ἀνταγόρης ἐγένο[ντο.
τῶι δὲ καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὀλίγης Διὸς ἄλκιμος υἱὸς
ἔπραθεν ἱμερόεντα πόλιν, κε[ρ]άϊξε δὲ κώμας
εὐθὺ[ς ἐπ]ε̣ὶ̣ Τροίηθεν ἀνέ̣[πλε]ε̣ ν̣ηυσ[ὶ] θ̣[οῆισι
. . [. . . . .]λ̣α̣ιων ἕνε̣[χ᾽ ἵπ]πων Λαομέδοντος·
ἐν Φλέγρηι δ]ὲ Γίγαντας ὑπερφιάλους κατέπεφ[νε.
Μήστρη δὲ προ]λιποῦσα Κόων ποτὶ πατρίδα γαῖαν
νηῒ θοῆι ἐπέρ]ησ᾽ ἱερέων ποτὶ γουνὸν Ἀθηνέων
ἐ]πεὶ τέκε παῖδα Ποσειδάωνι ἄνακτι.
αἰν]όμορον πατέρα ὃν πορσαίνεσκεν.

. . . Her Poseidon the earth-shaker mastered
taking her far from her father over the wine-dark sea
in sea-girt Cos, although she was very wise.
There she gave birth to Eurypylus, leader of many men,
for [the hero] Cos gave birth[33] to a child who had exceeding
strength.
To him were born two sons, Khalkon and Antagoras.
For him, albeit from a small beginning, the valiant son of Zeus
sacked his desirable city and razed its villages
immediately after he sailed back from Troy with his swift ships
[ ] horses of Laomedon.
[In Phlegra) he slew the overweening Giants.
Mestra, leaving Cos for her native land,
crossed [in a swift ship] to the hill of sacred Athens [ ]
when she gave birth to a child for her Poseidon [
] cared for (?) her doomed father

The 'small beginning' is elucidated by Plutarch (*Quaest. Gr.* 58), who tells how Heracles was cast ashore in Cos and asked a shepherd, Antagoras, for a ram to eat; the shepherd challenged Heracles to a wrestling match, which escalated into an all-out battle between Meropes and Greeks. Heracles hid in the house of a Thracian woman, disguised in female costume, and finally wiped out the Meropes. The religious practice that Plutarch cites this story

is a link between Triopas and the Cnidos region, in particular the sanctuary known as the Triopion (cf. Herodotus 1.144). Wilamowitz 1924: II 35 thought that the myth was originally Cnidian.

[32] Cf. Brillante 1983b. [33] The text there is corrupt: see Casanova 1978: 203.

to explain is, curiously, the fact that the priest of Heracles in Antimacheia wears woman's garb.

After the Coan adventure, Mestra returns to Athens, 'crossing [in a swift ship] to the hill of sacred Athens (ἱερέων ποτὶ γουνὸν Ἀθηνέων). The phrase γουνὸν Ἀθηνέων is very rare; the only parallel in epic is in *Odyssey* 11.323, where Odysseus recalls that in the Underworld he saw Ariadne, whom Theseus attempted to bring from Crete to the γουνὸν Ἀθηνάων ἱεράων,[34] and of course the 'Catalogue of the Heroines' in *Odyssey* 11 is a passage that has much in common with the *Catalogue*. In Athens, she 'cared for her father' (πατέρα ὃν πορσαίνεσκε).[35] So Mestra seems to spend the rest of her life back in Athens, looking after her father (continuing to finance his appetite by soliciting dowries?).

There is one more section in the text (section 7). Unexpectedly, we begin a new *ehoie*, that of Eurynome, daughter of Nisus, whom Sisyphus tried to obtain as wife for his son Glaucus, but she was seduced by Poseidon and gave birth to Bellerophon:

[ἢ᾽ οἵη Νίσο]υ θυγάτηρ Πανδιονίδαο
[Εὐρυνόμη ἣ]ν ἔργα διδάξατο Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη
[ ]εουσα, νόεσκε γὰρ ἶσα θεῆισι
τῆς καὶ ἀπὸ χρ]οϊῆς ἠδ᾽ εἴματος ἀργυφέοιο
[ ]θεου χαρίεν τ᾽ ἀπὸ εἶδος ἄητο·
τῆς μὲν Σίσυφο]ς Αἰολίδης πειρήσατο βουλέων
βοῦς ἐλάσα[ς· ἀλλ᾽ οὔ τι Διὸ]ς νόον αἰγιόχοιο
ἔγνω· ὁ μ[ὲν δώροις διζ]ήμενος ἦλθε γυνα[ῖκα
βουλῆι Ἀθ[ηναίης· τῶι δὲ] νεφεληγερέτα Ζεὺ[ς
ἀθανάτωι ἀ[νένευσε] κ̣αρήατι μή ποτ᾽ ὀπ̣ . .[
ἔσσεσθαι .[. . . . .]ητου Σισυφίδαο.
ἣ δὲ Ποσε[ιδάωνος ἐν] ἀγκοίνησι μιγεῖ[σα
Γλαύκωι ἐν̣[. . . . .]ἀμύμονα Βελλε[ροφόντην,
ἔξοχον ἀνθ[ρώπων ἀρ]ε̣τῆι ἐπ᾽ ἀπείρονα γ[αῖαν.
τῶι δὲ καὶ η[. . . . . πα]τὴρ πόρε Πήγασο[ν ἵππον
ὠκύτατον [. . . . .]μ̣ινεπτε[

[34] Cf. also Pindar, *Isth.* 4.25, *Anth. Pal.* 14.150.2, and Ἐρεχθέος ἔν ποτε γουνῶι in the first verse of Callimachus' *Hecale* (a reference I owe to Richard Hunter), but this seems to be the sum total.

[35] Cf. fr. 70. The verb πορσαίνεσκον is imitated by Apollonius of Rhodes, who uses it for the Sirens attending Persephone at *Arg.* 4.897 (not in Livrea's commentary). The formula πατέρα ὅν, 'her father' – ὅν being the old reflexive pronoun equivalent to Latin *suum* – seems to be a Hesiodic touch. The dative and genitive forms of this formula – πατέρος οὗ and πατέρι ᾧι – are Homeric, but the accusative, with its remarkable hiatus, is not, although it occurs in v. 59 of the *Aspis* and possibly once in the *Theogony* (v. 71). Schwartz 1960: 274 says that Apoll. Dysc. *De pron.* 1.1., p. 112, 23 seems to have read σφον. Cf. ἵν δ᾽ αὐτῶι in fr. 10a.60 of the *Catalogue*. Coming at the end of the narrative of Mestra, a detail like this may function as a sort of stylistic *sphragis*: 'This is Hesiodic language.'

πάντηι ἀν[. . . . . .]ε. τα . . .[
σὺν τῶι πῦρ [πνείουσαν υ - υυ - υ Χίμαιραν.
γῆμε δὲ πα[ῖδα φίλην μεγαλήτορος Ἰοβάταο
αἰδοίου βασ[ιλῆος
κοίρανος α[
ἣ τέ[κε

[Or such as she,] daughter of the son of Pandion [ ]
whom Pallas Athene taught deeds [ ].
. . . for she thought things equal to goddesses,
and from her skin and bright clothes . . . and graceful beauty
wafted.
Her plans Sisyphus the son of Aeolus tested, driving cattle.
But he did not recognise at all the mind of Zeus the
aegis-holder.
He came pursuing the women with gifts
through the counsel of Athena. To him Zeus the
cloud-gatherer
indicated with a nod from his immortal head that never [ ]
would there be [children for] of son of Sisyphus.
But she, making love in the arms of Poseidon,
for Glaucus [ ] blameless Bellerophon,
excelling men in virtue over the boundless earth.
To him also [ ] the father gave Pegasus,
[the swiftest] horse [everywhere. . . .
Chimaera breathing] with fire.
He married [the dear daughter of great-hearted Iobates,]
the respectful king [ ] ruler [ ] who bore . . .]

So Sisyphus is frustrated in his ambitions. Perhaps it is relevant that Glaucus figures in the most 'genealogical' passage of Homer. I am thinking of the genealogy of Glaucus in *Iliad* 6, where Diomedes and Glaucus realise that they have an ancestral connection. It is Glaucus' ancestry that the *Catalogue* poet has rewritten, since it turns out that he is not a descendant of Sisyphus at all, and may, in fact, be of Athenian descent, since there is a good chance that Eurynome's grandfather Pandion was an Athenian, possibly the son of Cecrops.[36]

We know nothing else about the narrative. It might have returned to Mestra in Athens.[37] Alternatively, it might have narrated other attempts by

[36] Pegasus and Poseidon in Athens: Shapiro 1989. This point is already in Gantz 1993: 175, who shows that Pindar follows the *Catalogue* version in *Olympian* 13. For Glaucus, cf. Corsano 1992. Notice that the *Catalogue* also differs from the *Iliad* on the lineage of Sarpedon (*Iliad* 6.199, Hesiod fr. 141).

[37] Did she perhaps end up married to Autolycus, as in Ovid, *Met.* 8? It is noteworthy that Autolycus features in fr. 66 of the *Catalogue*, from a papyrus that contributes to fr. 43a.

Sisyphus to find a bride for his son. But the pace of the *Catalogue* was so great that it cannot have continued for very long.

ERYSICHTHON AND ATHENS

Fr. 43a is set in an Athenian context, but it is not known from any Athenian source. It left little or no impression on Athenian vase-painting, for example, and no impact on literature, with the possible exception of fragments of a satyr drama called *Aithon* attributed to the fifth-century Athenian poet Achaeus.[38] This link with Attica is thus a surprise. But there was indeed an Attic hero Erysichthon, son of Cecrops. Plato (*Critias* 109e–110b) classed him as one of the heroes of the distant past who are so ancient that only their names are recorded but not their accomplishments. Erysichthon was linked to the institution of state-pilgrimage, *theoria*, to Delos, and was supposed to have erected the first statue of Apollo on Delos, and possibly the earliest temple, but to have then died on the way back.[39] He judged a conflict between Athena and Poseidon, and was buried at Prasiai, on the east coast of Attica.[40] While he had no children, he was the eponym of a sacred *genos* at Athens, the Erysichthonidai, who played a leading part in Athenian *theoriai* to Delphi and in the Athenian administration of Delos in the second century BC.[41]

The tradition about this Erysichthon certainly goes back to the Atthidographer Phanodemus in the fourth century. Jacoby advanced the radical view that the myth of Erysichthon's involvement in Athenian pilgrimage to Delos was in fact invented by Phanodemus,[42] and that, during the period of Athenian domination of Delos in the fourth century, there had been a tendency for local historians to invent a mythology to match the practice of pilgrimage. In fact, with or without the link to the Delian *theoria*, the tradition about the Cecropid Erysichthon is probably much older.

The question arises of the relation between the two Erysichthons. Jacoby,[43] who wrote before the Cairo papyrus was published, believed that the two were unrelated, but after the publication the possibility naturally arose that the *Catalogue* poet has identified the Aeolid Erysichthon with

[38] The content of this play is entirely uncertain, but the fact that some of the fragments have to do with food suggests that it could be about Erysichthon. There is also a trace in an epigram on certain victors cited by Aeschines, *in Ctes.*184. Another possibility is that this occurred in dramas about Sisyphus, of which a number survive from Athens.

[39] Plutarch fr. 158 Sandbach; Pausanias 1.18.5.

[40] Trial: Apollodorus 3.180; Prasiai: Pausanias 1.31.2.

[41] See the convenient list in Parker 1996.

[42] *FGrHist* IIIb (supplement) Nos. 323–334, Vol. 1–Text, p. 176, under 325 F2.

[43] *FGrHist* IIIb (supplement) nos. 323–334, Vol. II–Notes, Addenda, Corrigenda, Index, p. 158.

his Cecropid namesake.[44] Hence, there would presumably have been no Erysichthon in the Cecropid stemma as presented in the *Catalogue*. This would be an instance of the 'panhellenic poetics' of my title. There are, however, no obvious connections between the Erysichthon of the *Catalogue* and the Cecropid Erysichthon, except for their name, and the fact that they were both situated in Attica.[45] Nothing suggests that the Cecropid Erysichthon was thematically linked to the myths of divinely inspired hunger or the Mestra-motif. Nevertheless, there is one level on which we might make a connection between them.

It has been argued that Erysichthon is linked to begging rituals, in which a priest or someone else goes round making a collection (ἀγερμός) of food. The people who made the collections often seem to have carried a special sort of branch, the *eiresiônê*, an olive branch which was decorated with fillets of wool, and with first-fruit offerings of food and other things.[46] The connection with Erysichthon is somewhat oblique: crucial elements are his hunger and the fact that in the story he cuts down a tree, which might be thought to motivate the carrying of a branch. More important, perhaps, is that a relative of Triopas, Phorbas, seems to be explicitly connected with begging rituals in Rhodes.[47]

In the case of the Cecropid Erysichthon, the relationship to begging rituals is equally oblique but compelling. We have already noted that the Cecropid Erysichthon founded the Athenian *theoria* to Delos, and begging rituals turn out to be linked to Delos in two ways. First, as Burkert points out, the ritual of the Hyperborean Maidens on Delos involved a begging ritual.[48] The second point concerns the Athenian Pyanopsia festival, held in the month of Pyanopsion (roughly October), in which the *eiresiônê* ritual was a major component.[49] The Pyanopsia was a festival of Apollo, and it turns out that the *eiresiônê* ritual at Athens was commonly associated with Apollo, functioning as a symbolic appeal to him for protection from famine.[50] Plutarch (*Theseus* 22) tells us that this ritual, held on Pyanopsion 7, was established when Theseus returned from his expedition to Crete, as fulfilment of a vow he had made. Now, Theseus' Cretan adventure was

[44] So West 1985a, Robertson 1984.

[45] Perhaps we can also add that they are both linked to divine judgement. The Aeolid Erysichthon is judged by Athena, if we trust West. The Cecropid Erysichthon judges a conflict between Athena and Poseidon, according to Apollodorus. It is tempting to see these judgements as linked in some bigger myth – Athena and Erysichthon both decide in each others' favour – but I am not sure how far to press this.

[46] There is a good account in Burkert 1985: 101–2.

[47] Athenaeus 6.262e–3a; cf. Robertson 1984, and already Burkert 1979: 134–5.

[48] Herodotus 4.33–5, Burkert 1985: 101.

[49] Burkert 1985: 101, Deubner 1932: 198–9.

[50] Lycurgus: Parker 1996: 290.

generally regarded as a founding myth for one of the Athenian *theoriai* to Delos,[51] and Theseus thus duplicates Erysichthon's own role as pathbreaker of the Athenian *theoria*.[52] So Plutarch's testimony that Theseus founded the *eiresiônê* ritual on his return from Crete and Delos in Pyanopsion provides a crucial link between the *eiresiônê* and the Athenian *theoria* to Delos, a link which allows us in turn to infer an association between the hungry Triopid Erysichthon and the Cecropid Erysichthon who goes to Delos.

This hypothesis may in turn have consequences for how we assess the role of the Athenian *genos* of the Erysichthonidai, who may at some point have regarded their founding hero as a non-Athenian, the Thessalian son of Triopas (there are parallels for Attic sacred *genê* having foreign eponyms),[53] but subsequently changed the tradition and decided that their eponymous founder was an Athenian. In that case, there would be reason to think that the Erysichthonidai were specially associated with begging rituals. On Delos and at Delphi we may imagine that they carried the *eiresiônê* branch, and that in this way Athenian *theoriai* to Delos and Delphi would have included a symbolic appeal to Apollo to save them from famine.

It is possible to speculate how a Thessalian hero became associated with the Athenian *theoria*. As we have seen, Erysichthon was buried at Prasiai, whereas later Athenian *theoriai* seem to have left from Phaleron. Prasiai, it may be observed, was the final stage on the route by which the Hyperborean Offerings passed from the north to Delos. An earlier stage on the route was the Malian Gulf, the area dominated by the early Amphictyony, where the Thessalian Erysichthon was very much at home. Perhaps the ritual of the Hyperborean offerings was the conduit through which Erysichthon passed from Thessaly to Attica, or perhaps we should postulate an early Thessalian *theoria* associated with Erysichthon, which travelled to Delos via Attica. Later on, Athens appropriated Erysichthon for itself (this would be the period when the *heroon* was established), and still later Athens decided that

[51] Theseus is supposed to have called in at Delos on the way back from Crete, where he founded the crane-dance, and the delegations of young Athenians who visit Delos commemorate the Athenian tribute to Minos, cf. Robertson 1984.

[52] Or at least one of them. The issue is complicated by the fact that there were several different Athenian *theoriai* to Delos.

[53] The *genos* of the Euneidai, specially associated with music, had as their founding hero the Lemnian Euneos, a child of Jason and Hypsipyle, cf. Bond 1963, Toepffer 1889. Similarly, the *genos* of the Eumolpidai, who were specially associated with Eleusis, had as their founding hero Eumolpus, who, at least from the time of Euripides, was a Thracian. The Eupatrids, a *genos* or caste with some religious role, claimed descent from Ajax and the Aiakidai of Aegina (Parker 1996: 323–4), as did the *genos* of the Philaidai, and Ajax was the eponym of the Aiantis *phyle*: see L'Homme-Wéry 2000: 241–2 (though some sources regarded Ajax as autochthonous: see below). Other *genê* had local eponyms, for example the Eteoboutadai, the most important sacred *genos*, whose founding hero Boutes was mentioned in the *Catalogue*: see Shapiro 1989, West 1985a: 109, Meliadò 2003.

the base for Delian *theoriai* should be on the west coast, thus detaching the ritual from the cult of Erysichthon on the east.[54] Yet another layer in the web of cultic links between Erysichthon and Delos could have come about through the island of Cos, which had early ritual links with Delos and in one tradition was the source for the first statue of Apollo there.[55]

THE *CATALOGUE* AND ATHENS

I want finally to return to the problem of the composition of the *Catalogue*, and in particular the role of Athens in it. While the canonical version may date from the sixth century, as West maintained, it is also possible that some elements are as old as Hesiod, as Janko has argued on the basis of linguistic features, and Casanova on the grounds of mythology.[56] The origins of the tradition may have been in the north of Greece, and may be extremely old. Some think the poem is presupposed by the Homeric *Nekuia*, with its catalogue of famous mythological heroines. And it is also a form of poetry that would have been particularly fluid and accommodating of expansions, since new stories could have been added at any point in the *Catalogue*. But, after all this fluidity, there must have been a moment when the content of the Catalogue became more or less fixed.

Martin West thinks that the canonical composition took place in Athens. He cites a few details of Athenian myth and ritual that are attributed in ancient sources to Hesiod: the most important is probably that Hesiod is supposed to have said somewhere that the hero Sicyon, eponymous hero of Sicyon, was a son of Erechtheus. West (1985a: 133) associates this with the tradition that Cleisthenes married the daughter of the Athenian Megacles in about 575.[57] Notice, however, that the detail is not certainly from the *Catalogue*. Equally, if Nisus in fr. 43a is the son of the Athenian Pandion, that detail could reflect Athenian aspirations in the Megarid in the same period (Peisistratus is said to have made an attempt on the Nisaia in 565).[58] Another key point is testimony that Hesiod somewhere told a story about the obscure Salaminian hero Cychreus, who killed a local snake which was to end up as the sacred snake at Eleusis. It is noteworthy that in the period when Solon was securing the Athenian possession of Salamis from Megara, the *Catalogue*-poet showed an interest in Salamis.[59]

[54] For speculation about the earlier stages, see Robertson 1984: 407–8. He thinks there were two native Attic heroes: Aithon, who was associated with the Poseideia festival in winter, and Erysichthon, who was a begging figure linked to the *eiresiônê*.

[55] Plutarch, *De musica* 14, cf. D'Alessio forthcoming b.

[56] Janko 1982, Casanova 1979a.

[57] Herodotus 6.126.

[58] Marcotte 1988: 257; West 1985a: 132; Herodotus 1.59.

[59] If this is from the *Catalogue*, Cychreus would have been mentioned in the stemma of the Asopides.

The second theory I will mention here is one recently put forward by Robert Fowler, who puts the *Catalogue* in the region of the Delphic Amphictyony, and suggests that it might date from the period of the First Sacred War. It was when the Northern Amphictyony based at Anthela took over Delphi in about 590 (so the story goes) that it achieved its zenith of influence. Some details of the *Catalogue* seem to relate directly to traditions of the First Sacred War, for example the quarrel between Phocus' two sons Krisos and Panopeus (fr. 58), who are eponyms of two important Phocian towns, Krisa and Panope. Interestingly, the *Aspis* (a poem with an intimate relation to the catalogue tradition) is generally interpreted as reflecting the same period, possibly an internal disagreement in the Amphictyony between Thebes and the Thessalians, represented by Heracles and Cycnus.[60] Some recent scholars have doubted the historicity of the First Sacred War,[61] but, as Janko pointed out (1986: 59), the ominous ending of the *Hymn to Pythian Apollo* surely points to a significant conflict of some description. And whatever the details of history, we could still see the *Catalogue* as reflecting the interests of a northern block of states, which had an interest in promulgating a genealogical map of Greece in which the families of the north have pride of place. Fowler's view is appealing, especially since, if the *Catalogue* was composed in Athens, one would expect more Athenian material than it actually has. Still, it is clear that the poem shows a degree of Athenian influence. We saw earlier how the Athenian family of Erechtheus and Creousa was incorporated into the family of the Deucalionids. Equally important is the fragment about the hero Sicyon, if indeed it comes from the *Catalogue*. In view of this, likely performance-scenarios for the poem would be meetings of the Amphictyony held both at Anthela (the so-called 'Pylaia')[62] or at Delphi, though there would be many other possibilities at localities within the Amphictyony.[63]

Much more problematic is the issue of Ajax's kingdom as presented in the 'Catalogue of Helen's Suitors'. In fr. 204.44–51, Ajax's kingdom is based in Salamis but includes Megara and much of the Argolid. Contrast the Homeric 'Catalogue of Ships' (*Il.* 2.557–8), where Ajax's kingdom is smaller and subordinated to Athens. There was a tradition, apparently

[60] See Janko 1986. [61] Robertson 1984, and more recently Davies 1994.

[62] Add the myth of the death of Heracles, fr. 25, 24, which makes good sense in the context of performance at Anthela, since Mt. Oeta is close (Soph. *Tr.* 658ff., Taplin 1999); cf. also O]ἰτη[ῖ]ς Προ̣[ν]ό̣[η at fr. 26.25. The hypothetical epithet O]ἰτη[ῖ]ς occurs only here. The narrative of Mestra would suit Anthela because of the relationship to Demeter.

[63] Another possibility would be the festival of the Charitesia at Orchomenus in Boeotia, since the foundation of the cult of the Charites there by Eteoklos was described in the *Catalogue* (fr. 71, cf. fr. 70).

promulgated by Megarian historians, that Peisistratus had had the text of the *Iliad* doctored, and if this tradition of Athenian tampering is roughly right, it would be surprising if the Athenians approved the Ajax entry in fr. 204; rather, it looks as if it might be particularly the sort of thing that the Athenians would have tried to suppress. Finkelberg infers that fr. 204. 44–51 preserves an older version of heroic geography which, in the context of the Iliadic 'Catalogue', was doctored in favour of both Athens and also Argos in the seventh and sixth centuries. It would then be difficult to reconcile this hypothesis with the theory that the *Catalogue* was composed in Athens. This line of reasoning is not wholly compelling: Wilamowitz, in the *editio princeps* of the 'wooing fragment', had argued that the Ajax entry was perfectly compatible with Athenian interests, presenting Ajax as a cattle-rustler based in Salamis who raids to the north and the west, but avoids Attica. In that case, we might say that the Ajax entries in the Iliadic 'Catalogue of Ships' and the Hesiodic 'Catalogue of Suitors' both show Athenian influence, but in different ways.[64]

While there was indeed Athenian influence, it is not necessary to conclude that the *Catalogue* was composed in Athens. Given the model of an open tradition accommodating variations over time, as different rhapsodes shaped the material and added their own, we could think of a long tradition beginning in the north, with only the culminating stage happening in Athens, when all the Athenian material was added. But equally, we could also think of an amphictyonic context, in which Athens plays a major part. I mentioned earlier Robert Fowler's persuasive hypothesis that the *Catalogue* might date from the period of the First Sacred War and reflect the politics of the early Delphic Amphictyony. Now, according to a tradition preserved in Aeschines, Athens was a member of the Delphic Amphictyony at this time,[65] and perhaps we could think of amphictyonic catalogue-rhapsodes at Anthela or Delphi representing Athenian mythology as integrated into the mythology of the rest of Greece. This would be an equilibrium peculiar to the historical circumstances of the early sixth century BC.

A poet in this position would have faced a considerable problem connecting up Athenian mythology to the mythologies of the rest of Greece. As far as we can look back – at least till the *Iliad* – the Athenians presented their own genealogy as independent and autochthonous. Of all places in Greece, Athens (rivalled only by Arcadia in this respect) is one of the most

[64] A full discussion of this problem would include a review of the whole issue of relations between Athens and Salamis. For a start, see Osborne 1994, L'Homme-Wéry 2000.

[65] The first document setting out Athens' relation with the Amphictyony seems to be the difficult IG I (3rd ed.) no. 9, from the mid-fifth century BC.

resistant to incorporation into the panhellenic network. The case of Athens is even stranger because it combines a succession of two autochthonous traditions, based on Cecrops and Erechtheus.[66] But the *Catalogue* breaks with this model by narrating points of linkage with mythology outside Attica. One celebrated instance is the tradition that Erechtheus' daughter married the Aeolid Xouthos and that Ion and Achaeus were their children. Later, Athenian mythography rejected this: in the *Ion*, Euripides made Ion's father not Xouthos, but Apollo.[67]

The narrative in fr. 43a is another case where the *Catalogue* sets out a link between Attica and the genealogies of the rest of Greece. Perhaps one 'Catalogue poet' knew of the Attic Erysichthon, and attempted to cement a genealogical link between the Aeolid traditions of Thessaly and Athenian mythology.[68] Alternatively, it is possible that there was no Athenian Erysichthon at this point, and the poet was reflecting a stage of the development of the cult where Erysichthon is still tied to Thessaly (see section 4 above), a stage that the Athenians were soon to reject in favour of their own autochthonous genealogy.[69] At any rate, I prefer to think of the poet of fr. 43a not as an Athenian, but as a poet with an amphictyonic or panhellenic perspective, concerned to represent Athenian mythology as linked to the mythology of the rest of Greece.

[66] See Parker 1987.

[67] Loraux 1981 argued that Euripides refashions the myth so that Ion resembles Erechtheus and Erichthonius, cf. Zeitlin 1989: 150–1. A parallel case might be the Hesiodic tradition that Theseus fell in love with Aigle, daughter of Panopeus, which Hereas of Megara alleged that Peisistratus later removed from the text (fr. 298; Plutarch, *Theseus* 20; Hereas of Megara, *FGrHist* 486 F1). The text of Athenaeus 13.557a (= Hesiod fr. 147), however, seems to imply that the Hesiodic poem in question was believed to be by Cercops of Miletus (i.e. that it was the *Aigimios*, which was sometimes ascribed to Cercops).

[68] Robertson 1984: 383, 'The poet of the Catalogue found the story of Erysichthon tied to the Athenian cult of Apollo, and he made room for it by the simple expedient of enrolling E. among the posterity of Aeolus, as son of Triopas son of Canace and Poseidon.'

[69] Contrast the case of Ajax, where there may have been a failed attempt to make him an Athenian against the grain of the heroic tradition. Pherecydes of Athens made Ajax Athenian by descent (Telamon is son of the Athenian king Aktaios): *FGrHist* 3 F60; Barron 1980: 3 and n. 31. The association of Eriboia, mother of Ajax, with Theseus (on the sixth-century François Vase and in the opening lines of Bacchylides 17) may represent a tendency to make the genealogy of Ajax as close to Athenian as possible. See Kron 1976: 171–2. On Eriboia, cf. Berger-Doer 1986. Compare the intricate negotiation relating to the Attic Kephalidai in Broadbent 1968: 240–339.

CHAPTER 6

A catalogue within a catalogue: Helen's suitors in the Hesiodic Catalogue of Women *(frr. 196–204)*

Ettore Cingano

INTRODUCTION

The Hesiodic catalogue of Helen's suitors (frr. 196–204) is of seminal importance for the whole stream of epic tradition: by narrating the events which led to the marriage of Helen and Menelaus, it serves as a prelude to – and an integration of – the facts narrated in the *Cypria*, which in turn provides detailed information on the events which led to the Trojan War. In spite of all the features it shares with the early stage of the Trojan epics and with the Homeric Catalogue of Ships, and although scholarly interest in the epic cycle has steadily increased in recent years, the Catalogue of Suitors has been given little attention so far; in fact, it has not been commented upon since the papyrus fragments were published by Wilamowitz about a century ago.[1]

According to Merkelbach and West, the catalogue of Helen's suitors was located in the fifth and last book of the Hesiodic *Catalogue*. Because of its subject-matter, it can safely be treated as a separate section, independent of the rest of the *Catalogue*. Frr. 196–204 deal with the list of Helen's suitors, with the oath imposed upon them by Tyndareus that they would join in arms against anyone who might take Helen by force, and with her marriage to Menelaus and the birth of Hermione. We are then faced with an abrupt switch in the text (fr. 204.95–123), referring to the gods and to Zeus's intention to trigger the Trojan War, with the aim of destroying the generation of the demigods. Even more obscure, and still waiting for an overall interpretation, is a passage about a radical change in the conditions of human life, followed by a long digression about the life cycle of snakes

[1] Surprisingly, the catalogue of Helen's suitors is utterly ignored in the extensive work on the Homeric Catalogue of Ships by Visser 1997, in the recent book on the Trojan epics by J. Burgess (*The Tradition of the Trojan War in Homer and the Epic Cycle*, Baltimore 2001), and in a spate of recent contributions on the function and nature of the *Cypria*. A more detailed analysis of frr. 196–204 will appear in the extensive commentary I am preparing with the collaboration of Miss C. Tammaccaro.

(fr. 204.124 to the end).[2] The motif of the annihilation of the demigods through the Trojan War connects this section to the Hesiodic myth of the heroic age (*Works and Days* 156–73) – albeit with a notable difference[3] – and the emphasis on Zeus's plan calls to mind the beginning of the *Cypria* and the motif of human overpopulation.[4] The Catalogue of Suitors shares many features with the Homeric Catalogue of Ships, whereas the theme of the destruction of mankind has well-known parallels in Greek myth, as well as analogies with myths from the Near East.

Altogether, we have in these fragments more than 150 lines of poetry, all of them preserved in two papyri from Berlin edited by Wilamowitz about a century ago (1900–1907); to these a few scraps of a papyrus from Oxyrhynchus have beeen added in later years.[5] Only two fragments were already known through indirect tradition.[6]

The Berlin papyri on the wooing of Helen have had an interesting fate since their discovery: when Reinhold Merkelbach edited the corpus of the papyrus fragments of Hesiod in 1957 he was unable to trace them, since they had vanished in the turmoil of the war and its aftermath.[7] It is now known that the papyri disappeared from a Soviet transport of looted treasures from Berlin on the way to Königsberg; they turned up again more than fifteen years later, and are now located in the Ägyptisches Museum in Berlin.[8]

[2] On the last section of fr. 204, see now Clay (this volume).

[3] For a possibility to remove such difference see below, pp. 123–4.

[4] Compare Hes. fr. 204.96–100 with *Cypria* fr. 1 Bernabé = 1 Davies. On the Hesiodic lines see, most recently, Burkert 1992: 100–3; Koenen 1994; Cerutti 1998; Pontani 2000; Clay 2003: 168–72.

[5] PBerol. 9739 (= frr. 196–200, from Fayoum, first to second century AD, upper parts of five columns) and 10560 (= fr. 204, from Hermoupolis Magna, third century AD, two columns with several lacunae, + the beginning of a third); POxy 2491–2, ed. by E. Lobel (1962), second century AD (= frr. 198, 201). On the Berlin papyri, see Wilamowitz 1900: 839–40; Wilamowitz 1907: 28, 31; Schwartz 1960: 413–16; West 1985a: 115–16.

[6] Scholia T Hom. *Il.* 19.240, VI 298 Maass (= fr. 202), which includes Lycomedes in a Hesiodic list of Helen's suitors; Pausanias, 3.24.10 (~ Hes. fr. 204.87–92), noticing the absence of Achilles amongst the suitors, confirms that the list belonged to the *Catalogue of Women*; finally, a scholion to Lycophron (*schol. Alex.*204 ~ fr. 204.78–85) mentions the oath 'related to Helen, narrated by Hesiod'. To these, Merkelbach–West have added Nicol. Damasc. *Excerpt. de Virtut.* 1.339 as fr. 203 (= fr. 205 Rzach, *incertae sedis*). Fr. 202 and fr. 203 have been numbered amongst the Hesiodic fragments since the first editions of the nineteenth century.

[7] Cf. Merkelbach 1957: 21, 24: 'Pap. Berol. 9739 . . . P. Berol. 10560 . . . heute verschollen'.

[8] For an account of the story, see E. Wipszycka et al., *JJP* 30 (2000) 265–6: 'Polish railwaymen . . . found the papyri in the vicinity of the railway as if they had been thrown away from the trains . . . most of the objects are still preserved in the original glasses . . . the papyri were traded for food and other supplies by the Soviet soldiers guarding the trains' (I owe this reference to the courtesy of C. Roemer).

THE WOOING OF HELEN

In the second edition by A. Rzach (1908) the fragments of the *Catalogue* were arranged according to subject-matter, and the Catalogue of Suitors was placed amongst the quotation fragments related to Helen's genealogy (= frr. 94–6); the same order was kept by H. G. Evelyn-White.[9] In his edition of the *Catalogue* (1952) A. Traversa rearranged the fragments according to the division into five books attested by two sources, and expanded the catalogue of Helen's suitors between the end of Book 1 and the beginning of Book 2:[10] following Wilamowitz, he interpreted the stichometric *beta* written in the margin of fr. 204.94 as an indication of the beginning of the second book. Schwartz was the first to interpret the big *beta* as a stichometric sign corresponding to v. 200 of the papyrus; he has been followed by West, who has suggested that the indication refers to v. 200 of the fifth book of the *Catalogue*.[11]

The edition by Merkelbach and West has brought about a radical change. The fragments pertaining to the genealogy of Helen and the Catalogue of Suitors have been placed in two different sections of the *Catalogue*: the editors have assembled the fragments within the framework of the offspring of the four primary ancestors – Aeolus (= frr. 10a–121), Inachos (= frr. 122–59), Pelasgos (= frr. 160–7) and Atlas (= frr. 168–204) – following the same order as that found in the *Library* of Apollodorus.[12] Helen's genealogy, connected to Leda's (frr. 23a–24), fits in the genealogical tree of the Aeolidae in Book 1, where there seems to be no space left for such an extended digression as the Catalogue of Suitors. On the other hand, the mention of Helen along with her suitors was likely to be connected to the genealogy of Tyndareus in the fifth book. Tyndareus descended from Atlas, whose genealogical tree was probably dealt with in the third and fourth books; since, however, the Catalogue of Suitors ended with the preparation for the Trojan War, explaining why the age of heroes perished, it is likely to

[9] H. G. Evelyn-White, *Hesiod, The Homeric Hymns and Homerica*. Cambridge, MA/London, 2nd ed., 1936 (= frr. 65–9).

[10] The existence of a fifth book of the *Catalogue* is attested by the *Suda* (*s.v.* Ἡσίοδος), which has the indication ἐν βιβλίοις ε̄, and by a quotation in a papyrus commentary to Antimachus (= fr. 103 Matthews). On the evidence for the fifth book of the *Catalogue*, see A. Traversa, 'I cinque libri del *Catalogo delle donne*', *Maia* 4 (1952) 1–13; Casanova 1979b: 220–1.

[11] See Schwartz 1960: 416; West 1985a: 115. On the *beta* as marking the beginning of the second book of the *Catalogue* see Wilamowitz 1907: 41; Traversa (n. 10 above) 3 fn. 3; Traversa 1951: 27–8; Stiewe 1963: 19.

[12] In his review of Traversa 1951 (*Gnomon* 27(1955) 6), Merkelbach had already surmised that the *Library* of Apollodorus could be used for the reconstruction of Hesiodic stemmata; see now West 1985a: 41–5.

have been located in the fifth and last book, thus providing an appropriate ending for the whole *Catalogue*. It also effected a transition towards further epic narrative centred on the Trojan War, which began with the events of the *Cypria* and dealt with the consequences of Zeus's plan. Since, moreover, as West has noticed, there is a tendency towards expanding narrative into substantial digressions towards the end of each book of the *Catalogue*, this would account for a major digression at the very end of it.[13]

It is therefore likely that the Catalogue of Suitors was located in the fifth and last book of the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*, although some problems with this location still remain.[14] Wilamowitz had pointed out that the unknown suitor in vv. 1–3 of fr. 196 was probably the first entry of the catalogue, since his mention is followed by a presentation of Helen (4–8) apparently more detailed than any other mention of her in the following fragments;[15] besides, the setting of the scene in fr. 196.6–8 seems to be the palace of Tyndareus at Lacedaemon. In fr. 204.58–65, where another expanded mention of Helen occurs, the focus is rather on the interest she raises in Idomeneus, who is willing to undertake a long journey in order to meet her; this last mention parallels the one in fr. 196.4–8, and may have served to round off the section on the suitors with a typical ring-compositional process. This may hold true even though Idomeneus was probably not the last entry of the list, since the extended lacuna at vv. 65–76 leaves room for at least one more hero before the motif of the oath is introduced (77–85).[16]

Still, the possibility remains that both the presentation of Helen in fr. 196.4–8 and the focus on Idomeneus' yearning to meet her in fr. 204.58–64 were just short digressions characterising the entries of two suitors, and others may have occurred in the text; if this is the case, fr. 196 was not the very beginning of the Catalogue of Suitors, and the problem I am about to raise would be solved. West has conjectured that v. 1 of the first fragment

[13] See West 1985a: 49–50; for other narrative expansions in the *Catalogue* see Rutherford 2000: 82. Interestingly, Schwartz 1960: 416, has conjectured that PBerol. 10560 may have contained 'une édition séparée du Catalogue des prétendants d'Hélène'.

[14] For a different view, see Heilinger 1983, esp. 26–34, who objected that in locating the Catalogue of Suitors in the fifth book, Merkelbach and West did not comply with the overall plan of Apollodorus' *Bibliotheca*, which they had posited as the governing principle for reconstructing the structure of the *Catalogue*. According to Heilinger, the genealogy of Helen was the likeliest place to incorporate also the episode of her suitors.

[15] Wilamowitz 1900: 841; see frr. 199.1–2, 11; 200.2, 11; 204.42–3, 54–5.

[16] The extended lacuna between vv. 65 and 77 makes it likely that the entry of Idomeneus was followed by Lycomedes, also from Crete (see fr. 202 and n. 6, above) and by Tlepolemos, from Rhodes: see apparatus at v. 65; West 1985a: 117–18. On the other hand, the missing lines may also have mentioned Odysseus' role in suggesting to Tyndareus an oath of the suitors: on this point, see below, p. 127.

of the Catalogue of Suitors (fr. 196.1,]τ̣ης ἀγὸς ἀνδρῶν [αἰχμ]ητάων) corresponds to the very first line of the fifth book: I find it unconvincing, however, that the wedding of Helen, 'an event of fatal significance for the whole age of heroes', should begin abruptly with the name of the first suitor, all the more so since 'Hesiod sets about telling the story on a grand scale, with a long catalogue . . . which perhaps served both as a reminder of previous genealogies and as a measure of the size of the impending war'.[17] Since the Catalogue of Suitors marks the transition to quite a different subject, time and tone from the *Catalogue of Women*, one would rather expect it to begin with a preamble, a statement on what is about to follow, or with an invocation to the Muses, which was originally 'an appeal for information . . . and what follows has the form of an *answer*, supplying the information in the form of a catalogue . . .'.[18]

As a matter of fact, in *Il.* 2.484–93 the Homeric Catalogue of Ships is preceded by an invocation to the Muses; in 2.761–70, such an invocation introduces the short list of the best amongst Achaean horses and warriors, in 14.508–16, a list of Achaeans and dead Trojans. A quasi-invocational question which omits the Muses, but has the same purpose of emphasising what follows, opens the lists of the heroes killed by Hector in *Il.* 5.703–7 and 11.299–303, of those killed by Teucros in 8.273–6, and of those killed by Patroclus in 16.692–96.[19] Besides the invocation to the Muses in the proem of the *Works and Days* (1–2), invocations also occur within the *Theogony*: at vv. 104–16, an invocation to the Muses introduces the list of the gods arranged in chronological order; at vv. 965–8, another invocation marks the transition to the last section of the poem, the catalogue of unions between goddesses and mortals (969–1020). Finally, the *Catalogue* itself opens with an invocation to the Muses by the poet (fr. 1.1–15) to sing of the women who slept with gods; a reinvocation would therefore have been most appropriate to introduce such a separate section as the Catalogue of Suitors, considering that it sealed off the catalogue narrative of the other four books and led to the end of the heroic age.[20]

Another peculiarity, unnoticed so far, needs to be pointed out: in the section which concluded the entire poem with the aim of accounting for

[17] The quotations are from West 1985a: 115.

[18] I am quoting from Minton 1962: 188.

[19] See Minton 1962: 207–9.

[20] Another invocation to the Muses at *Il.* 11.218 fulfils the different purpose of emphasising the prowess of Agamemnon. In most of the lists quoted above, the first entry is also introduced by πρῶτον/πρώτιστα/πρῶτος (see also Minton 1962: 191, 209). Heilinger 1983: 21, objected to the suggestion that fr. 196.1 be the first line of the Catalogue of Helen's suitors: 'Wir wissen weder, wieviele Freier sind am nicht erhaltenen Anfang, noch wieviele in den Lücken des Pap. 9739, noch wieviele in der Lücke zwischen den beiden Papyri und am Ende des Kataloges in Pap. 10561 ausgefallen sind'.

the decline of the heroic age, no mention appears of the wars at Thebes waged by the Seven and by the Epigonoi, the main events prior to the war at Troy which were just as important a cause for the disappearance of the heroes (ἡμίθεοι), as Hesiod himself stated in the *Works and Days* (161–5): καὶ τοὺς μὲν πόλεμός τε κακὸς καὶ φύλοπις αἰνή | τοὺς μὲν ὑφ' ἑπταπύλωι Θήβηι, Καδμηίδι γαίηι, | ὤλεσε μαρναμένους μήλων ἕνεκ' Οἰδιπόδαο, | τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐν νήεσσιν ὑπὲρ μέγα λαῖτμα θαλάσσης | ἐς Τροίην ἀγαγὼν Ἑλένης ἕνεκ' ἠυκόμοιο, 'and they were doomed by evil war and terrible battle, some below seven-gated Thebes, in the land of Cadmos, as they fought over the flocks of Oedipus, some others war had taken to Troy in ships over the great depth of the sea, for the sake of fair-haired Helen'.[21]

The *Catalogue of Women* originates from the need to create a broad, systematic and panhellenic arrangement by families which might accommodate the main genealogies of the entire Greek world, and complement the cosmogonic plan of the *Theogony*: it has rightly been defined as 'un poème mythographique qui témoigne déjà du projet intellectuel de dépasser le cadre de la narration épique, limitée à des cycles particuliers . . . pour déployer une structure d'ordre général . . .'.[22] Although in the epic chain of events the marriage of Helen took place after the fall of Thebes, it is hard to believe that a poem so carefully articulated on so grand a scale would have omitted such a major event, all the more so if one considers the strong link existing between the Theban and the Trojan epics. Moreover, two of the Epigonoi who destroyed Thebes, Alcmaeon and Amphilochus, are numbered amongst the suitors of Helen in a context which shows acquaintance with their story (fr. 197.6–8); besides, the presence of a third epigonos from Argos, as a representative of the three leaders of the Argive contingent at Troy, is a likely hypothesis.[23] If the Catalogue of Suitors did indeed open

[21] The connection between the two wars as the cause for the end of the heroic age also occurs at *schol.* A Hom. *Il.* 1.5, I 6 Dindorf; *schol.* Eur. *Or.* 1641 Schwartz; *Anecd. Oxon.* 4.405, 6 Cramer. On the interpretation of Hes. *Works and Days* 161–5, see my 'The death of Oedipus in the epic tradition', *Phoenix* 46 (1992) 7–9.

[22] Chr. Jacob, 'L'ordre généalogique. Entre le mythe et l'histoire', in *Transcrire les mythologies. Tradition, écriture, historicité*, ed. M. Detienne, Paris 1994: 176. Fowler 1998 is also very important; on the relation between the *Theogony* and the *Catalogue* see now Clay 2003: 166–74.

[23] On the list of suitors and on Amphilochus and Alcmaeon, see below, pp. 127–9, 130–1. Apart from Alcmaeon and Amphilochus, brief mentions of Oedipus, of his sons and of the Epigonoi occur before the Alcmene-*ehoie*, in frr. 190 (see Merkelbach–West *ad* v. 13 ff.); 192; 193.1–9 (P.S.I. 131 + PLit Palau Rib. 21); see West 1985a: 110–11; A. López, *ZPE* 107 (1995) 53–6; G. B. D' Alessio, *ZPE* 110 (1996) 100. Acquaintance of the Homeric poems with the Theban epics is well attested, especially in the *Iliad*: cf. *Il.* 2.559–68, 572; 4.372–410; 5.801–13; 6.222–3; 10.285–90; 14.114; 23.346–7, 677–80; *Od.* 11.271–80, 326–7; 15.244–6, 253. On the Theban events in Homer see, most recently, J. B. Torres-Guerra, *La* Tebaida *Homérica come fuente de* Ilíada *y* Odissea (Madrid 1995) 27–49, 65–74. For further links between Thebes, Troy, and the role of Thersander, see Cingano 2000: 132–41; Cingano 2004: 59–68.

the fifth book, I am inclined to think that a mention of (or a connection with) the wars at Thebes occurred at the end of the fourth book, after the Alcmene-*ehoie* passage (fr. 195), serving as a transition to the last section of the poem, before the wooing of Helen, which provided the introduction to the Trojan War.[24] A stronger similarity would then be clear between the last section of the *Catalogue of Women* and the *Works and Days* (156–73) with regard to the mention of both wars and to the end of the *hemitheoi* (see fr. 204.95–123). If, on the other hand, one rejects the connection with the Theban epics, it follows that the Catalogue of Suitors differed from the *Works and Days* and sided with the tradition of the *Cypria* in focusing only on the Trojan War as the cause of the annihilation of the demigods.

THE CATALOGUE OF SUITORS AND THE MOTIF OF THE WEDDING CONTEST

The wooing of Helen and the oath that Tyndareus exacted from all the suitors were key episodes in the preparation of the Trojan War: according to West, the number of suitors in the Hesiodic catalogue ranged between twenty-five and thirty.[25] The list of suitors anticipates the names of the main heroes who fought at Troy, whereas the oath provides the seminal motif which accounts for their presence there. If Proclus' sketchy summary of the *Cypria* is to be trusted, the story was not told in the poem, but it is hard to believe that it was not even alluded to. In this respect, Proclus' summary must be treated with caution: I would not rule out the possibility that a paragraph dropped out of the text, if one considers that it jumps from the judgement of Paris to his arrival in the Peloponnese without even mentioning the wedding of Helen and Menelaus (argum. *Cypria* p. 40 B. = *EGF* 31).[26] The wooing was narrated by Stesichorus in the *Helen* poem (fr. 190 Davies), by Euripides (*Iph. Aul.* 51–71), by Isocrates (*Hel.* 39–41), by Pausanias (3.20.9; cf. Luc. *Dear. Iud.* 14) and by Apollodorus (*Bibl.* 3.10.8–9), who lists the names of thirty-one suitors; another list of thirty-six names is preserved by Hyginus, *Fab.* 81.[27]

[24] According to this possibility, an invocation to the Muses, a proem or a transitional passage to the final section of the *Catalogue of Women* might have stood at the end of Book 4, after the mention of the Theban wars. On the treatment of Heracles in the *Catalogue of Women* cf. Haubold (this volume).

[25] West 1985a: 117.

[26] On the possibility that the oath was mentioned in the *Cypria*, see also Robert 1920–23: II 3, 1066–7; Bethe, 1929: 233–5; *contra* Severyns 1928: 274–5.

[27] In reporting the story of the oath, the expanded Homeric scholion (*ad Il.* 2.339, I 103 Dindorf) quotes only Stesichorus (= *PMGF* 190) and omits the Hesiodic Catalogue of Suitors. The

Altogether, the suitors' contest was an important theme in the *Catalogue of Women*, dealing with marriages and therefore multiplying heroic genealogies.[28] Similar contests occur elsewhere in the *Catalogue*: in fr. 37.2–7 Neleus had vowed to hand over Pero to the hero who would bring back from Pylos the cattle of Iphiclus: amongst many suitors only Melampous seems to have accepted the challenge, wooing on behalf of his brother Bias (cf. Hom. *Od.* 11.287–91; Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.9.2). The daughters of Proitos – Lysippe, Iphinoe and Iphianassa – were also wooed by many Greek heroes (fr. 130 = Strabo 8.6.6); the lengthy account of Mestra and her many suitors in fr. 43a has several similarities with the catalogue of Helen's suitors.[29]

Moreover, we are left with extended fragments pertaining to the suitors of Atalanta (frr. 72–6), who were bound to die if they were defeated in the race (fr. 76.22); the winner was not required to offer presents. The Hesiodic *Megalai Ehoiai* told the episode of Hippodameia's suitors (fr. 259), who were forced to challenge her father in the chariot race. The list of the thirteen heroes killed by Oenomaos before Pelops succeeded is also a catalogue of suitors (fr. 259 a; cf. Pind. *Ol.* 1.75–81; Apollod. *Epit.* 2.3–5). The same gloomy features are found in the myth of Euenos and Marpessa, narrated by Bacchylides in more than one poem (*Dith.* 20; fr. 20A M.): Euenos competed against his daughter's suitors and roofed the temple of Poseidon with their skulls. Similarly, in the *Odyssey* the suitors of Penelope meet their death at the end of the archery contest inspired by Athena (*Od.* 21.1–4, 67–79) and won by Odysseus, who runs therefore for the second time in his life as a suitor of Penelope.

The catalogue of Helen's suitors shares the motif of the ἀγών with the contests of Atalanta, Hippodameia, Marpessa and Penelope, but seems to

reason could be that only Stesichorus dealt at length with the episode; another Homeric scholion (= fr. 202) shows acquaintance with the Catalogue of Suitors. Thucydides (1.9) was also familiar with the story, but rejected the motif of the oath in favour of a more rational explanation, grounded on military and economic power. On the oath, see A. M. Biraschi, *Tradizioni epiche e storiografia. Studi su Erodoto e Tucidide* (Naples 1989) 91–7.

[28] Cf. Schwartz (1960) 41 and fn. 4: '. . . le thème du concours, épique par sa nature, pourrait s' être multiplié dans le *Catalogue des femmes*'. On the theme of courtship in epic poetry, see Haubold 2000: 137–43, with bibliography. On the nature and function of catalogic poetry, see H. Trüb, *Kataloge in der griechischen Dichtung* (Diss. Zurich 1952) 66–7; Kakridis 1972: 160–1; W. Kühlmann, *Katalog und Erzählung* (Diss. Freiburg 1973) 3–4; C. O. Pavese, 'Poesia ellenica e cultura orale', in C. Brillante, M. Cantilena, C. O. Pavese (eds.), *I poemi epici rapsodici e la tradizione orale* (Padua 1981) 249–50; Davies 1992; Rutherford 2000: 89–96; J. F. Gaertner, 'The Homeric catalogues and their function in epic narrative', *Hermes* 129 (2001) 298–305; E. Minchin, *Homer and the Resources of Memory* (Oxford 2001) 73–99.

[29] The Hesiodic *Catalogue* also explores other procedures of wooing, such as a father acting as a substitute for his son: Sisyphus wooed Mestra on behalf of his son Glaucus (fr. 43a.51–4, 75–7); in Pherecydes, *FGrHist* 3 F82a, by winning a contest Heracles got the hand of Iole for his son Hyllos.

differ in that it is constructed as a contest based on the most generous bridal offerings, with no fatal consequence for the defeated, at least in the short run. As a matter of fact, a closer scrutiny reveals that in the long run the prolongation of their status of former suitors bound by an oath will eventually bring death to most of them, either at Troy or in the aftermath of the war;[30] this point is further clarified by the use of the formula Ἑλένης ἕνεκ' ἠυκόμοιο, 'for the sake of fair-haired Helen'. In Hom. *Il.* 9.339 the formula is used, in the words of Achilles, of the journey that the Greek heroes – that is, the former suitors of Helen – undertook from all over Greece to Troy in order to rescue her.[31] In *Works and Days* 165 it is directly connected to the deaths of the heroes who went to Troy, whereas in the Catalogue of Suitors the same formula (fr. 200.11) and the equivalent one (τανισφύρου) εἵνεκα κούρης (frr. 196.4, 198.4, 204.67) anticipate the strong bond between the 'femme fatale' and the heroes who sued for her hand.

In other respects too, the Catalogue of Suitors shares similarities with catalogues and contests mentioned by sources other than Hesiod. The first procedure for Penelope's second marriage to one of the suitors, preceding the archery contest, is attested in the *Odyssey*: her father and brothers will hand her to the most generous giver with the same criterion as for Helen's suitors.[32] In *Od.* 18.276–9, Penelope recalls the old custom of courtship amongst suitors: 'those who propose to a girl of high birth, a daughter of a wealthy man, and compete against each other, they bring over oxen and fattened sheep . . . and offer splendid gifts'.[33] Earlier on in the poem, Odysseus asks Telemachus the full list of names of the suitors, using the technical verb καταλέγειν.[34] According to a tradition recorded by Pausanias (3.12.1; cf. 3.13.6), the first wedding of Penelope also followed a contest, a foot race instigated by her father Icarius, the brother of Tyndareus, and

[30] Notably, the only suitors who do not die at Troy appear to be Menelaus, who woos through his brother Agamemnon, and Odysseus, who withdraws tacitly from the competition, knowing that he cannot compete with the wealth of Menelaus (fr. 198.2–8); on the death of Helen's suitors, see Haubold 2000: 140–1.

[31] *Il.* 9.337–9: . . . τί δὲ δεῖ πολεμιζέμεναι Τρώεσσιν | Ἀργείους; τί δὲ λαὸν ἀνήγαγεν ἐνθάδ' ἀγείρας | Ἀτρεΐδης; ἦ οὐχ Ἑλένης ἕνεκ' ἠϋκόμοιο; The formula applies to Helen also in relation to other episodes, such as her abduction by Theseus at an earlier stage of her life: see fr. epic. adesp. 8, p. 161 D. For similar expressions in lyric poetry see for example Ibyc. S 151.5–7 Davies.; Pind. *Pae.* 6.95 M.

[32] See Hom. *Od.* 15.17–19; 16.76–7; 19.528–9; 20.335; as for Penelope's brothers, compare the prominent role of the brothers of Helen, the Dioscuri, in Hes. frr. 197–8 (see below).

[33] Hom. *Od.* 18.275–9: μνηστήρων οὐχ ἥδε δίκη τὸ πάροιθε τέτυκτο, | οἵ τ' ἀγαθήν τε γυναῖκα καὶ ἀφνειοῖο θύγατρα | μνηστεύειν ἐθέλωσι καὶ ἀλλήλοις ἐρίσωσιν· | αὐτοὶ τοί γ' ἀπάγουσι βόας καὶ ἴφια μῆλα | κούρης δαῖτα φίλοισι, καὶ ἀγλαὰ δῶρα διδοῦσιν.

[34] Odysseus' question at *Od.* 16.235–6 requires a complete list with names (ἀλλ' ἄγε μοι μνηστῆρας ἀριθμήσας κατάλεξον), but Telemachus only tells him the overall number and place of origin. The full list is reported by Apollod. *Epit.*7.25–9.

won by Odysseus.[35] The story told by Pausanias is at variance with the tradition reported by Apollodorus (*Bibl.* 3.10.9), according to which Odysseus had married Penelope following the advice of Tyndareus. The entry of Odysseus in fr. 198.2–8 stresses that the hero did not send bridal presents, since he knew that Menelaus would eventually prevail in the contest; and yet one cannot help wondering what use did the astute Odysseus (fr. 198.3, πολύκροτα μήδεα εἰδώς) make of his foresight. We are told by Apollodorus that Odysseus' withdrawal from the wooing was based on a mutual agreement with Tyndareus, whereby the father of Helen helped him to win the hand of Penelope and in turn was advised to bind the suitors with an oath which would prevent any angry reaction from them after the final choice was made. If indeed Odysseus' role in the oath was already mentioned in the Catalogue of Suitors, we have to assume that it occurred in the lacuna preceding v. 78 of fr. 204, since his own entry in fr. 198 does not credit him with such invention.[36]

Finally, Herodotus (6.126–30) relates the historical contest for Agariste devised in the early sixth century by her father Cleisthenes, the tyrant of Sicyon, and also gives us a catalogue of suitors (6.127): after choosing Megacles, Cleisthenes, in order to assuage the disappointment of the rejected suitors and reward them for their long leave from home (they had been entertained at Sicyon for one year), presented them with a large sum of money. This procedure confirms the socio-historical pattern lying behind the epic version, since it is reminiscent of the oath devised by Tyndareus in fear of anger from the losers (see also Stesich., *PMGF* 190): it serves the same purpose, to a minor extent, and there are further similarities.[37]

HELEN'S SUITORS

In Homer and Herodotus, the suitors of Penelope and Agariste are listed according to a geographical criterion: those coming from the same region

[35] In Pindar, *Pyth.* 9.111–18, another contest of suitors dealt with the 48 Danaides: they had been placed at the finish line as a reward for the suitors, the most beautiful of them going to the winner of the race. According to Pausanias (3.12.1–2), the agon devised by Danaos inspired the one that Icarius put up for Penelope. For Icarius as the brother of Tyndareus, see Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.10.4 (= ? Stesich. fr. 227 D.); *schol.* Eur. *Or.* 457 Schwartz.

[36] The oath is reported in fr. 204.78–84.

[37] A parallel between the suitors of Helen and Agariste who came even from outside Greece is found in Dio Chrysostom, 11.46–7. The remarks of M. I. Finley ('Marriage, sale and gift in the Homeric world', *RIDA* 2 (1955) 188) on bridal presents in Homer can also be applied to the Catalogue of Suitors: '. . . the Homeric ἕδνα were analogous to Cleisthenes' ἀγών – a ritual device for mate selection. In fact, the giving of ἕδνα often became an ἀγών, the girl going to the most generous giver'.

are grouped together; the same criterion may be assumed for Helen's suitors, since in fr. 199.4–6 Podarces and Protesilaus, both coming from Phylake, are listed next to each other. If we follow West's reconstruction of the list, the same probably happened with Menestheus and Polypoites, both from Athens, and with Idomeneus and Lycomedes, both from Crete (frr. 200.3–11;? 204.56);[38] it is noticeable, however, that according to this reconstruction Sthenelus and Diomedes, both from Argos, are in fact separated from two other heroes also wooing from Argos, Alcmaeon and Amphilochus (fr. 197.6–7), by another entry occurring in fr. 197.1–5. With regard to place of origin – and no differently from the Homeric Catalogue of Ships – the Catalogue of Suitors seems to follow a geographical spiral oriented clockwise, starting from the Peloponnese, where Tyndareus' palace was located (at Lacedaemon), and ending with Crete and possibly Rhodes (? Tlepolemos). Contrary to what is reported in the Catalogue of Ships (*Il.* 2.569–87), in this presentation Menelaus' place of provenance must be the same one as his brother Agamemnon's, Mycenae, since he only became king of Sparta by virtue of his marriage to Helen, thus succeeding Tyndareus on the throne.[39] Altogether, the names of twelve suitors have survived: Menelaus (Mycenae, with Agamemnon wooing for him, fr. 197.4–5), Alcmaeon and Amphilochus (Argos), Odysseus (Ithaca), Thoas (Aitolia), Podarces and Protesilaus (Phylake), Menestheus (Athens), Ajax (Salamis), Elephenor (Euboea), and Idomeneus and Lycomedes (Crete).[40]

The winner of the bridal contest, Menelaus, is proclaimed in a ring-compositional sequence (fr. 204.85–7 ~ 93) after the list of suitors is sealed off by the key episode of the oath, which will account for their future presence at Troy. To these names an outsider – and a sure winner, had he run in the contest, as the text specifies (89–92) – must be added: in a digression also with ring-compositional features,[41] the striking absence of Achilles amongst the suitors is promptly attributed to his young age; at the time he was still a boy (v. 89, παῖδ' ἔτ' ἐόν[τ'·]), completing his training

[38] West 1985a: 117 fn. 197, 118.

[39] The palace of Tyndareus is located at Sparta/Lacaedemon in frr. 198.7 and 199.7, where the suitors . . . ἀγγελίην δ' αἰεὶ Λακεδαίμονάδε προΐαλλεν /-ον. Proclus' summary of the *Cypria* specifies that when Paris arrived in the Peloponnese he was first entertained by the Dioscuri, and subsequently by Menelaus in Sparta: ἐπιβὰς δὲ τῆι Λακεδαιμονίαι Ἀλέξανδρος ξενίζεται παρὰ τοῖς Τυνδαρίδαις, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐν τῆι Σπάρτηι παρὰ Μενελάωι (argum. *Cypria*, p. 40, 12 B. = 31, 17 D.).

[40] Lycomedes is included in fr. 202, a quotation fragment from a Homeric scholion: Κρὴς ὁ Λυκομήδης, ὥς φησιν Ἡσίοδος καταλέγων τοὺς μνηστῆρας Ἑλένης. For the possibility of identifying another suitor in fr. 200, see below, n. 117. On the Hesiodic list, see Kullmann 1960: 155–7.

[41] Compare vv. 87–8 . . . ἐν Πηλίωι . . . Πηλείδην . . . πόδας ταχύν, with v. 92, . . . ἐκ Πηλίου ὠκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς.

as a hero on the slopes of Mount Pelion under the guidance of Cheiron (fr. 204.87–92).[42] Even though he was not involved in the oath, clearly the name of Achilles could not be omitted because of his status and major role in the Trojan epics, which by far transcends all other heroes.[43] Along with Helen, Achilles is the main instrument of Zeus's plan for the annihilation of the demigods – as was narrated in a tradition other than the *Cypria*;[44] his presence is fitted between the episode of the oath and the mention of Helen's wedding (v. 93–4), so that the two main causes for the Trojan War are effectively displayed next to each other.[45]

The list suggested by West can, I think, be improved upon in a few entries. Thersander, the son of Polynices, who reigned at Thebes after the city was taken by the Epigonoi, shares the fate of some other heroes (like Protesilaus and Philoctetes) who set off to Troy with the Greek army but for different reasons dropped out of the scene at an early stage of the events. Thersander is not mentioned in the *Iliad*, since he died at the hands of Telephus in the course of the first misguided expedition which landed in Mysia, as reported in the *Cypria* (argum. p. 40, 36 B. = 32, 47 D.). After his death, the Greeks returned to Aulis, and before they set off for the second time Thersander must have been replaced by the colourless Boeotian leaders listed in the Catalogue of Ships (Hom. *Il.* 2.494–510).[46] His prominent role

[42] The young age of a hero is often mentioned to explain his absence in capital events of the heroic age: cf. the absence from Troy of the Argive hero Cyanippus – a son or grandson of Adrastus – in Pausanias (2.30.10) and the mythological tradition, contrasted with Ibycus S 151.36–7 D. (cf. Cingano 1989: 31–6). Pausanias (9.5.14–15) also reports that when the Greek army sailed from Aulis for the second time Tisamenos, the son of Thersander, could not lead the Boeotian contingent because of his young age. The absence of Achilles from the suitors may account for his desire to meet Helen once he is at Troy: cf. argum. *Cypria*, p. 42, 59 B. = 32, 77 D.

[43] Cf. the unique occurrence at line-ending of v. 88 of the expression ἔξοχον ἀνδρῶν, replacing the usual ἔξοχον ἄλλων. On the characterisation of Achilles in these lines see Arrighetti 1998: 475. Since he did not swear the oath, Achilles was not bound to go to Troy; ancient tradition made up for this 'impasse' with the prophecy uttered by Calchas that his presence was essential for the taking of the city: cf. Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.13.8. Another version first attested in Euripides, *Hel.* 99 included Achilles amongst Helen's suitors; see also Paus. 3.24.10–11; Wilamowitz 1907: 39–40.

[44] See *schol.* A Hom. *Il.* 1.5, I 6 Dindorf, reporting the advice given to Zeus by his counsellor Momos in order to bring relief to the overpopulated earth: . . . τὴν Θέτιδος θνητογαμίαν καὶ θυγατρὸς [Διὸς] καλὴν γένναν, ἐξ ὧν ἀμφοτέρων πόλεμος Ἕλλησί τε καὶ βαρβάροις ἐγένετο . . . ; see also *Anecd. Oxon.* 4.405, 6 Cramer; Eust. in Hom. *Il.* 1.5, I 33 van der Valk; Schmidt 1996: 23–38; J. Marks, 'The junction between the *Kypria* and the *Iliad*', *Phoenix* 56 (2002) 6–12.

[45] On the difference between this version and the one narrated in the *Cypria* see M. van der Valk, *Researches on the Text and Scholia of the* Iliad (Leiden 1963) I 311–12; Matthiessen 1977: 182–3; M. Davies, *The Greek Epic Cycle*. Bristol 1989: 34; Burkert 1992:101–2. On the sketchy account of Proclus' summary for what concerns Helen, see above, with n. 26. The significant differences between the two versions cannot, in my opinion, deny the role of Achilles and, above all, Helen as Zeus's instruments in the *Cypria*: see also K. Mayer, 'Helen and the Διὸς βουλή', *AJP* 117 (1996) 1–15.

[46] On Thersander and on the shadowy figures of the Boeotian leaders as cannon fodder in the *Iliad*, see Cingano (2000) 132–41; below, pp. 141–2.

in the Theban epics and, most of all, his presence in the *Cypria* make him a likely representative from Thebes in the Catalogue of Suitors. I suggest that we should include him in the reconstruction of the list of suitors rather than the shadowy Peneleos and Leitos posited by West, all the more so since in fr. 200.1–2 – where their entry is located – μάλα δ' ἤθελε . . . | . . . πόσις . . . can refer only to one hero:[47] it would therefore be quite apt to accommodate the name of Thersander in the lacuna preceding fr. 200.

Conversely, although Diomedes is the chief commander of the Argive contingent at Troy in the *Iliad* (2.559–68), he should not be included amongst Helen's suitors, *if* the tradition attested in the *Iliad* that he was married to Aigialeia, a daughter of Adrastus (5.412–17: . . . Αἰγιάλεια περίφρων Ἀδρηστίνη . . . | ἰφθίμη ἄλοχος Διομήδεος ἱπποδάμοιο), is to be traced back to the Theban epics.[48] As for Sthenelus, another *epigonos* and also an Argive leader at Troy, although with a minor role, his presence in the lacuna following fr. 196 can be doubted on different grounds, which hold also for Diomedes. In fr. 197.6–7 two other heroes belonging to the Theban myth of the Epigonoi are named: Alcmaeon and Amphilochus, the sons of Amphiaraus and Eriphyle. The text stresses that 'they wooed from Argos, a place very near' to Sparta, where Tyndareus and Helen lived: υἱὼ δ' Ἀμφιαράου Ὀϊκλείδαο ἄνακτος | ἐξ Ἄργεος ἐμνῶντο μά̣[λ' ἐγ]γύθεν· . . . Since the proximity of Argos to Sparta must be intended as a contrast to the distant places from which the majority of suitors came, this cannot but be the very first entry of (suitors from) Argos in the Catalogue. The possibility that another entry from Argos followed the sons of Amphiaraus may seem remote, if one considers that the Catalogue of Suitors was more concise and selective than the Homeric Catalogue of Ships. And yet, Alcmaeon and Amphilochus actually form only one entry in the Catalogue of Suitors;[49] moreover, since neither of them appears in the *Iliad* amongst the leaders of the Argive contingent at Troy, the Hesiodic poet may have deemed it necessary to include a further hero from Argos who was also featured in the Catalogue of Ships. If an additional suitor from Argos ever followed, it may

[47] As noticed by West himself (1985a: 118 n. 202); see fr. 200.2, . . . μάλα δ' ἤθελε | Ἀργείης Ἑλένης πόσις ἔμμεναι ἠυκόμοιο . . . The inclusion of Thersander in the *Cypria* shows that in this poem the destruction of Thebes at the hands of the Epigonoi was dealt with in a much less radical way than in the *Iliad*, where the name of the city is omitted and replaced by the unknown Ὑποθῆβαι. On this problem, see Cingano 2000: 128–36.

[48] See also Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.8.6; scholia Hom. *Il.* 23, 681–2 b, V 472 Erbse. The possibility remains, however, that Diomedes' marriage to Aigialeia was located *after* the expedition of the Epigonoi and his wooing of Helen, since Aigialeia appears related to Diomedes essentially in the Trojan cycle.

[49] Note that they are not even mentioned by name, but simply as υἱὼ δ' Ἀμφιαράου (fr. 197.6), and the number of lines dedicated to them corresponds to one entry.

have been either an unmarried Diomedes or Sthenelus or even Euryalus, the third Argive leader at Troy and also one of the Epigonoi (*Il.* 2.565–7).[50]

In the Catalogue of Suitors, each hero is introduced concisely with the following features: 1) his genealogy and origin; 2) his procedure of wooing. Each entry is introduced by the expression ἐκ (ἀπό) + place of provenance at the beginning of the line (cf. frr. 197.7, 198.2, 199.4, 200.3; 204.44, 52, 56), + the verb (ἐ)μνᾶτο.[51]

The genealogies of Odysseus (fr. 198.3), Protesilaus (fr. 199.6), Menestheus (fr. 200.3) and Elephenor (fr. 204.53) are not traced back beyond the previous generation, whereas those of the sons of Amphiaraus (fr. 197.6), of Thoas (fr. 198.10), Podarces (fr. 199.5), and Idomeneus (fr. 204.57) span over two generations, with the remarkable exception of Ajax (fr. 204.44), who is deprived of any genealogical information.[52] Contrary to the practice of the *Catalogue of Women*, in this section, genealogical data do not expand beyond the first two lines of each entry, and are characterised by a total lack of information pertaining to female descent and of digressions concerning the ancestors, whenever they are mentioned. This is to be contrasted with its closer analogue, the Homeric Catalogue of Ships, which centres on the enumeration of the armies and their leaders; and yet there the mention of a father or of an ancestor may open the way for a short digression (cf. *Il.* 2.512–15: Astyoche loved by Ares; 627–9; 657–70; 741–6); besides, the names of the mothers of some heroes may also occur (cf. *Il.* 2.514, 658, 672, 715). In other words, while the whole section rotates around the central figure of Helen, we find here a masculine focus which is at variance with the female-centred outlook of the entire *Catalogue of Women* and clearly aims at accomplishing a different purpose, closely connected to the war at Troy. Accordingly, we face a shift from the feminine world to the world of heroes in the formulae employed, as signified by the disappearance of the

[50] West 1985a: 117 suggested only Diomedes and Sthenelus in the lacuna following fr. 196. Their dismissal as early Argive entries preceding fr. 197 opens the way for two new heroes of a different origin in the gap between frr. 196 and 197. On Alcmaeon and Amphilochus (fr. 197.6–9) see below, pp. 140–3.

[51] The only exception is the entry of Thoas (fr. 198.9). In some occurrences, the verb μνᾶτο is relocated at the beginning of the following lines (frr. 204.41, 45, 54) and the place of origin occurs in the second foot (fr. 204.44, 52).

[52] The formula υἱός + genitive of the father's name (frr. 198.3, 200.3) indicating genealogy can be expanded either by a patronymic referred to him (frr. 197.6, 198.9, 199.5), or by a patronymic ending in −ιδης (fr. 199.6, 204.53, 57), which apparently rules out further genealogical expansion (the only exception being fr. 204.57). The same alternating between the two genealogical formulae occurs in the Homeric Catalogue of Ships (e.g. *Il.* 2.541, 566) where, as in the Catalogue of Suitors, genealogies with a patronymic never go back beyond the generation of the hero's father (cf. *Il.* 2.541, 577, 622, 628, 653).

expression ἢ οἵη, which plays a significant connective function throughout the poem.

In order to account for this different practice and for the conciseness of each entry, we should perhaps also consider that the Catalogue of Suitors was intended as a conclusion to the whole Hesiodic *Catalogue*: therefore, it recapitulated heroes whose genealogies had already been dealt with at some length earlier on.

The Catalogue of Suitors describes the different manners of wooing by contrasting the procedure adopted by each hero; gifts are always referred to: if specified, they are inserted in a short list (frr. 197.1–2; 198.11; 199.10–11; 200.4–6). Only in the entry of Ajax the presents consist in a list of cities, similarly to what happens – for quite a different purpose – in the Homeric Catalogue of Ships, where the names of the leaders are followed by a list of the cities under their dominion. The relation between the different procedures of courtship is left unclear: fr. 204.58–62 stresses that apparently only Idomeneus went to Lacedaemon on his own initiative (58–9, οὐδέ τινα μνηστῆρα μ̣[ε]τ̣άγγελον ᾠ̣λ̣[ον ἔπεμψεν, | ἀλλ᾽ αὐτὸς [σ]ὺν νηῒ πολυκλήϊδι μελαίν̣η̣[ι), crossing the sea from Crete so that he could meet Helen, while most suitors stayed at home and enacted the wooing by proxy, through a messenger: Odysseus in fr. 198.4, 7; an unnamed suitor in fr. 199.1–3; Podarces and Protesilaus in fr. 199.7, and apparently Ajax in fr. 204.44–51.[53] On the other hand, the oath extracted from the suitors by Tyndareus (fr. 204.77–85) to punish anyone who carries off Helen cannot but imply the presence of all the heroes at Lacedaemon: after careful consideration of all the presents by Castor and Polydeuces, the suitors are likely to have been summoned to the palace of Tyndareus for the final choice of winner and bound by the oath. Brevity of space in the lacuna at vv. 65–77, however, seems to rule out this possibility, all the more so if the entries of other heroes (Lycomedes, Tlepolemos and possibly a mention of Odysseus) are to be accommodated in the gap.[54] We have therefore to assume either some inconsistency in the narrative, or that only the preliminary part of the contest, the sending of gifts, was dealt with in the poem. If we compare the wedding contest for Agariste in Herodotus,

[53] Cf. frr. 198.7; 199.0; 199.7: ἀγγελίην . . . προίαλλεν / προίαλλον. The text makes it clear that all the suitors but the winner will give their gifts in vain: see W. K. Lacey, 'Homeric ἕδνα and Penelope's κύριος', *JHS* 86 (1966) 57 n. 12.

[54] On these entries, see above, n. 16; on the problem raised by the absence of the suitors at Sparta, see also Gantz 1993: 565. The presence of the suitors at the oath is attested in the accounts of Eur. *Iph. Aul.* 49–71 and Paus. 3.20.9. On the procedure and meaning of such oaths (ὅρκια πιστά, fr. 204.78) see P. Karavites (with the collaboration of T. Wren), *Promise-giving and Treatise-making. Homer and the Near East* (Leiden 1992) 59–63.

there the choice of the most appropriate husband required their presence *in loco*, which actually lasted a year, since it was based on a close scrutiny and evaluation of their assets as well as of their moral qualities, as exemplified by the case of Hippocleides (Hdt. 6.128–9).

It is now time to select and examine specific issues in the Catalogue of Suitors which may help to clarify both its importance in the narrative sequence of the epic cycle and its peculiarities in matters of epic diction. I will deal mainly with fr. 197 and with the entry of Ajax in fr. 204.44–51.

CASTOR AND POLYDEUCES

Amongst other features of the contest of suitors, the Hesiodic narrative has retained the stock figure of the 'tutor of the bride', albeit with a significant departure from the traditional pattern: here, the main tutor of the bride is represented by Helen's brothers Castor and Polydeuces, whereas elsewhere the tutor is usually represented by the father. He is in charge of the procedure of the contest, selects the suitors, makes the final decision, and finally hands his daughter over to the winner of the contest: such procedure is attested, for instance, with Neleus, father of Pero, in Hom. *Od.* 11.288–91, and with Danaos, father of the Danaides, and Antaeus in Pindar, *Pyth.* 9.113–18, 106–20.

In the Catalogue of Suitors, the expression γαμβρὸν ποιήσαντο in fr. 197.4 ('they would have made him their brother-in-law . . .'), reveals that Castor and Polydeuces had a prominent role in dealing with the suitors, although the final decision was apparently in the hands of Tyndareus, who also exacted the oath from them. Frr. 198.7–8 and 199.0–1 show that the two brothers are the recipients of the bridal presents (ἕδνα), whereas in fr. 199.7 the same role is apparently attributed to Tyndareus;[55] in any case, they had the task of controlling that no one would act wrongfully in the process of courtship, if this is what fr. 198.1 really means (ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἦν ἀπάτης ἔργον παρὰ Τυνδαρίδηισιν).[56]

Comparison with other sources highlights the peculiarity of the Hesiodic version. As far as we can see from the detailed Homeric scholion relating the story, the twins had no role in Stesichorus' version of the episode (see Stesich. *PMGF* 190); similarly, Euripides (*Iphig. Aul.* 49–71), Apollodorus

[55] Cf. fr. 199.7–9: ἄμφω δ᾽ ἀγγελίην Λακεδαίμονάδε προϊάλλον | Τυνδαρέου π̣[οτ]ὶ̣ δῶμα δαΐφρονος Οἰβαλίδαο, | πολλὰ δ᾽ ἔεδν̣[α δίδον] . . .

[56] The line could also be interpreted as meaning 'but there was no deceitful dealing in the sons of Tyndareus', as in Evelyn-White's translation; see also Arrighetti 1998: 203. I shall deal in detail with this in my commentary.

(*Bibl.* 3.10.9) and Hyginus (*Fab.* 78) say nothing of the role of the Dioscuri and attribute to Tyndareus (or to Helen herself) the choice of the husband. And yet the key role of the Dioscuri with their sister in the epic tradition may find support in Proclus' précis of the *Cypria*, according to which, upon his arrival in the Peloponnese, Paris was entertained as a *xenos* first by the Dioscuri, and then by Menelaus.[57] A distant echo of the distribution of roles between father and brothers can be found in Dio Chrysostom (11.47), reporting that many wooers came from outside Greece attracted also by the power of Helen's brothers and father; in Dio's version, Paris too came as a wooer of Helen, and had an interview with her father and brothers (11.49, 51); after consulting with his sons, Tyndareus made the final decision and handed Helen over to Paris, since he was the master of his own daughter (11.53: κύριον . . . τῆς αὑτοῦ θυγατρός).

As a matter of fact, if we turn to other wedding contests, some sources attest to the authority also of the brothers, and show that the responsibility was always shared with their father: see Hom. *Od.* 15.16–7, ἤδη γάρ ῥα πατήρ τε κασίγνητοί [of Penelope] τε κέλονται | Εὐρυμάχωι γήμασθαι; in Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.6.1, Eurytus and his sons deny Heracles the wedding with their daughter and sister Iole (see also Pherecydes, *FGrHist* 3 F 82b).

The prominence of the Dioscuri throughout the wooing may be due to the fact that the actual father of Helen was Zeus, not Tyndareus (cf. Hom. *Od.* 4.569: οὔνεκ' ἔχεις Ἑλένην καί σφιν γαμβρὸς Διός ἐσσι, referred to Menelaus); but it may just as well originate from contamination of the bridal contest motif with the fact that Helen is placed under the protection of Castor and Polydeuces also in other episodes of her life.[58] A case in point is her abduction at the hands of Theseus; acting on their own, and not upon the request of Tyndareus, the Dioscuri rescued their sister from Aphidne, where she had been taken;[59] in this episode, Theseus can be equated to

[57] For the text of Proclus, see above, n. 39.

[58] The motif of the brothers helping their sister or mother out of trouble is a mythical feature of the divine twins: see E. Bethe in *RE* V 1, 1094–5 *s.v.* 'Dioskuren' (Schützer der Frauen). For the theme of the twins in relation to Helen, see Eitrem 1902: 31–3; D. Ward, *The Divine Twins. An Indo-European Myth in Germanic Tradition* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1968) 10–11, 60–2; West 1975: 8, 10–11; J. Puhvel, *Comparative Mythology* (Baltimore 1987) 141–3; L. L. Clader, *Helen. The Evolution from Divine to Heroic in Greek Epic Tradition* (Leiden 1976) 48–53, 82; P. Friedrich, *The meaning of Aphrodite* (Chicago 1978) 32–5; O. Skutsch, 'Helen, her Name and Nature', *JHS* 107 (1987) 188–93. On the iconography of the Dioscuri with Helen, see *LIMC*, *s.v.* 'Helene', nos. 16–59 (L. Kahil).

[59] The story of Helen's abduction is already found in Alcman, *PMGF* 21; *Cypria* fr. 13 B. = 12 D.; Stesich., *PMGF* 191; Pausanias 3.18.5 (throne of Amycle), 5.19.3 (chest of Cypselus). Similarly, in the myth of Medea, her brother Apsyrtos set off in search of her (Ap. Rhod. 4.224 –5, 303–481); in the myth of Europa, her brothers set off to track her (Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.1.1). Note, however, that in these two myths the brothers are urged by their father to go and search for the abducted sister; for another

a suitor, since he intended to marry Helen.[60] Notably, if they could not appear as suitors of their sister Helen, in the myth of the Leucippides the Dioscuri themselves did play the role of abductors and had to fight against another pair of brothers, Idas and Lynceus.[61]

THE ROLE OF AGAMEMNON

> . . . τοσσαύτας δὲ γυναῖκας ἀμύμονα ἔργ' εἰδυίας,
> πάσας χρυσείας φιάλας ἐν χερσὶν ἐχούσας·
> καί *νύ* κε δὴ Κάστωρ τε καὶ ὁ κρατερὸς Πολυδεύκης
> γαμβρὸν ποιήσαντο κατὰ κράτος, ἀλλ' Ἀγαμέμνων
> γαμβρὸς ἐὼν ἐμνᾶτο κασιγνήτωι Μενελάωι.
>
> Hesiod fr. 197.1–5

. . . so many women with excellent skills, all holding golden bowls in their hands. Castor and mighty Polydeuces would have made him their brother-in-law *kata kratos*, but Agamemnon, who was a marriage-relation, was wooing for his brother Menelaus.

The prominent role of Castor and his brother Polydeuces in the Catalogue of Suitors is matched by the peculiar role played by Agamemnon in fr. 197 as a suitor of Helen on behalf of Menelaus. Ambiguity and incongruity in the role of Agamemnon who, being already married to Clytemnestra, could only woo on behalf of his brother, may originate – as happens with Achilles – from the need to include another key figure, the future commander of the Greek army, in the antecedents of the Trojan expedition. Notably, the myth of Helen is often connected to a male couple, be it her brothers the Dioscuri, her abductors Theseus and Peirithous, or the Atreidai, as in this case.[62] On the other hand, Agamemnon's role has a parallel in Melampous wooing the daughter of Neleus, Pero, on behalf of

case (Arsinoe) cf. Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.7.5. Conversely in the Helen myth, after Aethra was abducted by the Dioscuri when they rescued their sister, the two sons of Theseus, Acamas and Demophon, later on found their grandmother at Troy and took her back home: see *Il. Parv.* F 20 B. = 23 D.; argum. *Iliou Pres.* p. 89, 21 B. = 62, 33 D.; Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.10.7; *Epit.* 5.22; Plut. *Thes.* 31–4; Dio Chrysost. 11.44.

[60] Cf. Diod. Sic. 4.63.3; Apollod. *Epit.*1.23: ὅτι Θησεύς, Πειρίθωι συνθέμενος Διὸς θυγατέρας γαμῆσαι, ἑαυτῶι μὲν ἐκ Σπάρτης μετ' ἐκείνου ἥρπασεν Ἑλένην. Note also that in this narrative, Peirithous' project to abduct Persephone is expressed by the verb μνηστεύω. On marriage through abduction, see Finley (above n. 37) 170; I. Jenkins, *BICS* 30 (1983) 137–45; on abduction, see A. Brelich, *Gli eroi greci* (Roma 1958) 250–3.

[61] See *Cypria* fr. 11 B. = 9 D., with Bethe 1929: 235–6; Severyns 1928: 277–9; Gantz 1993: 324–6. Cf. also the fragment of a Chalcidian lid (towards 530 BC), in K. Schefold, *Gods and Heroes in Late Archaic Greek Art* (Cambridge 1992) 188 n. 225; for further archaic iconographical evidence on the abductions performed by Theseus and the Dioscuri, see H. A. Shapiro in R. Hägg (ed.), *Ancient Greek Hero Cult* (Stockholm 1999) 101–3.

[62] On this point, see Eitrem 1902: 31–2; West 1975: 11.

his brother Bias (fr. 37.5, μνᾶτο γὰρ αὐτοκασιγν[ήτωι, ἥρωι Βίαντι); moreover, fr. 197.4–5 shows that, acting as brother-in-law of Helen and the Dioscuri through his marriage to Clytemnestra, Agamemnon was exerting his influence upon the contest, as Tyndareus did with his brother Icarius to the advantage of Odysseus wooing Penelope (Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.10.9).

The entry concerning Agamemnon/Menelaus presents a number of problems which have not been clarified so far. The two of them dealt with here centre: 1) on the extension of the entry, since the fragment opens in the middle of a narrative sequence enumerating the gifts offered by an unnamed suitor; 2) on the puzzling meaning of v. 4, γαμβρὸν ποιήσαντο κατὰ κράτος, ἀλλ' Ἀγαμέμνων, which has usually been interpreted as signifying 'they [Castor and Polydeuces] would have made him their brother-in-law perforce, but Agamemnon . . .'.

The expression γαμβρὸν ποιήσαντο has an equivalent only in Hes. *Theog.* 818, γαμβρὸν ἐὸν ποίησε, also at the beginning of the line; the third person singular ποίησε refers to the father of the bride, Poseidon, whose son-in-law is Briareos. In the Homeric poems, two expressions indicate the wish to have someone as a γαμβρός: the first one is in *Il.* 9.141–2, εἰ δέ κεν Ἄργος ἶκοίμεθ' . . . | γαμβρός κέν μοι ἔοι (Agamemnon offers one of his daughters in marriage to Achilles);[63] the second is *Od.* 7.313, παῖδα τ' ἐμὴν ἐχέμεν καὶ ἐμὸς γαμβρὸς καλέεσθαι (Alcinoos hints to Odysseus that he might marry Nausicaa). Both expressions are said of the father of the bride and, with the one in the *Theogony*, help to clarify the role of the Dioscuri as tutors of the bride in the Catalogue of Suitors. The unusual fact of two persons instead of one (the father) acting as tutors has brought about a modification of the usual formulation: the first person possessive pronoun/adjective (ἑόν, μοι, ἐμός) characterising γαμβρός in the above-mentioned passages has been dropped in fr. 197.4, owing to the peculiarity of a plural subject (the two brothers), which also brings about the use of a verb in the plural (ποιήσαντο).

In fr. 197.4 (γαμβρὸν ποιήσαντο κατὰ κράτος . . .), the combination of κατὰ with κράτος, 'force', has no parallel in epic poetry, and is found first in fifth-century prose: the word κράτος occurs after hephthemimeral caesura (as here) twenty times out of twenty-one in the *Iliad*, six out of seven in the *Odyssey* and two times out of two in the *Homeric Hymns*.[64] In the same metrical position as here – with caesura after the third trochee – we find the homophonous expression κατὰ κρᾱτός, which is, however,

[63] The same sentence is rearranged at vv. 283–4 within the frame of indirect discourse: . . . γαμβρός κέν οἱ ἔοις. On the formulaic occurrences of γαμβρός, see also below, n. 80.

[64] For the occurrence of κράτος in epic poetry see *LfgrE*, *s.v.* κράτος (B. Mader).

very different semantically and prosodically, κρᾱτός being genitive of ὁ κράς, poetical form of κάρη, 'top, head': see Hom. *Od.* 10.362, . . . κατὰ κρατὸς τε καὶ ὤμων ('over my head and shoulders'); *HHApollo* 74 μέγα κῦμα κατὰ κρατὸς ἅλις αἰεί ('the great wave . . . above my head forever'); cf. κατὰ δὲ κρατός, *HHHermes* 554 (in a different position).[65]

In fr. 197.4 κατὰ κρᾱτός, 'above the head', is ruled out both by metre and meaning; and yet, the precise meaning of κατὰ κράτος in this context is still awaiting an explanation. It has been universally translated as 'perforce',[66] 'nach Kräften, mit aller Kraft',[67] 'mit Gewalt',[68] 'zur Ehe zwingen',[69] 'per forza'.[70] This interpretation is surely correct with regard to later prose authors,[71] but it is meaningless and even grotesque in this context. It was put forward by both Wilamowitz and Robert, although with different nuances regarding the overall meaning of the passage: Wilamowitz referred the expression to the unnamed suitor in the entry preceding Agamemnon and took it as meaning that Castor and Polydeuces were determined to persuade 'mit Gewalt' the suitor in order to have him marry Helen and hand over his wealthy presents (cf. vv. 1–2).[72] According to Robert, Castor and Polydeuces would have forced their sister into marrying this suitor even against her will.[73] In both interpretations, κατὰ κράτος lays emphasis on the strong determination of Helen's brothers to choose the unnamed suitor as their brother-in-law; but a very unlikely conclusion would follow since, according to Wilamowitz, Castor and Polydeuces would have urged to marry Helen someone who was actually already wooing her of his own choice and therefore needed no encouragement; on the other hand, Robert's reading transforms Castor and Polydeuces not into the tutors, but rather into the oppressors, of their sister.

I think that the meaning here cannot but be radically different; in epic poetry, κατά with accusative may also bear the meaning of 'in conformity, according to',[74] whereas κράτος may express power and authority, as in

[65] For the occurrence of κρατός in epic poetry see *LfgrE*, *s.v.* κάρη (H. W. Nordheider).
[66] So, e.g., Evelyn-White.
[67] *LfgrE*, B 6 *s.v.* κράτος; L. and K. Hallof, *Hesiod. Werke* (Berlin und Weimar 1994) 132.
[68] Wilamowitz 1900: 845. [69] Robert 1920–23: II 3, 1068.
[70] Colonna 1977: 223; Arrighetti 1998: 203.
[71] See, for instance, Thucydides 1.64.3: κατὰ κράτος πολιορκεῖν, 'to carry out a siege with all one's might/strength'; 8.100.5; see also LSJ II *s.v.* κράτος.
[72] Wilamowitz 1900: 845, 'da [fr. 197.4] ist der eine, der fast mit Gewalt octroyirt wird, weil die Brüder der Braut seinen Reichthum begehren'.
[73] Cf. Robert 1920–23: II 3, 1068: 'ein dritter, noch reicherer, unter anderem geschichte Sklavinnen mit goldenen Schalen in den Händen, und obgleich Helena von diesem nichts wissen wollte, so würden sie ihre Brüder doch zur Ehe mit ihm gezwungen haben . . .'.
[74] See e.g. κατὰ μοῖραν in Hom. *Il.* 1.286; LSJ *s.v.* κατά, B IV.

Hom. *Od.* 1.359 (= 11.353), . . . τοῦ γὰρ κράτος ἔστ' ἐνὶ οἴκωι, 'mine is the authority on this house'. Just as with this last example, the Hesiodic lines must therefore signify that Castor and Polydeuces would have tried to persuade Tyndareus '*in conformity with, according to their power*' as tutors of Helen; in other words, they would have done whatever was in their power to promote this hero as the best candidate for their sister.[75]

Once accepted, the change of meaning raises two possibilities that may affect the interpretation of the whole passage and clarify the extension of the entry pertaining to Agamemnon/Menelaus. If fr. 197.1–5 is to be split between an unnamed suitor (1–2), dealt with in the preceding lacuna, and Agamemnon (3–5),[76] it follows that the entry of Agamemnon and Menelaus would be considerably shorter than the others, in spite of the fact that Agamemnon is both the brother of the final winner in the bridal contest and the future leader of the Greek army at Troy; besides, contrary to what is the norm with all the other entries, it would not even mention Mycenae, his place of origin. It would therefore make sense that vv. 1–2 and the lines missing in the lacuna belong not to a different suitor, but form an expanded entry such as required for Agamemnon/Menelaus, running as far as v. 5.[77] If the preceding lines did actually refer to Agamemnon wooing on behalf of Menelaus, then the reference to Mycenae might be accommodated in the lacuna at the beginning of the entry, and the expression κατὰ κράτος should be referred not to Castor and Polydeuces, but to Agamemnon himself.[78] The Dioscuri would have chosen him as their brother-in-law κατὰ κράτος, 'on the basis of *his* power and authority', because of the generous bridal gifts he displayed (vv. 1–2), had he not been already married to Clytemnestra.[79]

With all its ingenuity, what is left unclear in this interpretation is the relation to what follows in the text: according to this view, the Dioscuri would have done whatever was in their power to help Agamemnon win the contest and become their brother-in-law, 'but Agamemnon, being their

[75] The peculiar construct γαμβρὸν ποιήσαντο κατὰ κράτος may have been triggered: 1) by the occurrence of the homophonous κατὰ κρατός after trochaic caesura; 2) by the unusual occurrence in the preceding line of the epithet κρατερός, which referred to Polydeuces, and by the guttural sound dominating the line.

[76] This is the usual interpretation put forward by Wilamowitz 1900: 841 and accepted, e.g., by Evelyn-White, Schwartz 1960: 414 n. 4, Gantz 1993: 565.

[77] This interpretation is put forward by West 1985a: 117–18, who, however, does not deal with the problems in the text.

[78] I am grateful to J. S. Clay for first pointing out to me that the expression might refer to Agamemnon.

[79] Agamemnon had married Clytemnestra before the wooing of Helen started. According to Stesichorus, *PMGF* 191, the marriage of Agamemnon and Clytemnestra took place even before Helen was carried off by Theseus: . . .συνοικεῖν γὰρ ἤδη Κλυταιμήστραν Ἀγαμέμνονι . . . ; by stating that Ἀγαμέμνων . . . τὴν δὲ Ἑλένην ἐμνήστευε μὲν τῶι ἀδελφῶι . . . Dio Chrysost. 11.46 seems to echo the Hesiodic version.

brother-in-law, was wooing on behalf of his brother Menelaus': . . . γαμβρὸν ποιήσαντο κατὰ κράτος, ἀλλ' Ἀγαμέμνων | γαμβρὸς ἐὼν ἐμνᾶτο κασιγνήτωι Μενελάωι. The clumsy redundancy of γαμβρός, referring to Agamemnon at the beginning of both vv. 4 and 5, would create a strange and contradictory situation whereby the Dioscuri, although being already his brothers-in-law since he had married their sister Clytemnestra, nearly mistook him for the real suitor of their other sister Helen, and wanted him to become again their brother-in-law.

I think that this interpretation may be countered by another possibility, that is, that the mention of Agamemnon should not be considered as the proper entry of him wooing on behalf of Menelaus, but rather as a short coda intended to emphasise the wealth of the unnamed suitor in the preceding lines by contrasting him with Menelaus, therefore anticipating the outcome of the contest. Other expansions characterise most entries: one similar to this occurs in fr. 198.5–6 where it is also anticipated that Menelaus would have prevailed over the other suitors because of his wealth, thus justifying Odysseus' intention to avoid sending gifts to Sparta: Odysseus . . . δῶρα μὲν οὔ ποτ' ἔπεμπε τανισφύρου εἵνεκα κούρης· | ἤιδεε γὰρ κατὰ θυμὸν ὅτι ξανθὸς Μενέλαος | νικήσει, κτήνωι γὰρ Ἀχαιῶν φέρτατος ἦεν. The same applies to another entry in fr. 204.41–2, where in a more concise manner it is stated that an unnamed suitor was inferior with his numerous presents only to Menelaus : μνᾶτο· πλεῖστα δὲ δῶρα μετὰ ξανθὸν Μενέλαον | μνηστήρων ἐδίδου . . . In accordance with this interpretation, the first occurrence of γαμβρός in the accusative in v. 4 refers to the unnamed suitor, whereas the second one at v. 5 refers to Agamemnon *qua* brother-in-law of the Dioscuri and of Helen; this construction eases the comprehension of vv. 4–5 and also gives full force to the adversative ἀλλά introducing Agamemnon: according to their authority, the Dioscuri would have chosen the unnamed suitor as their brother-in-law (because of the massive wealth displayed by his presents, vv. 1–4), *but* Agamemnon, being their brother-in-law, was wooing for his brother Menelaus (4–5).[80] By specifying that Menelaus' chances of success were based not only on his wealth, but also on the fact that his brother Agamemnon was an 'insider' in the family of Tyndareus, this passage complements what is said in frr. 198 and 204.41–2, where the wealth of Menelaus is mentioned as the main reason for his victory.

[80] The formula γαμβρὸς ἐὼν occurs in Hom. *Il.*13.466; the isometrical and homophonous expression γαμβρὸν ἐόν is attested in Hes. *Theog.* 818 (cf. also γῆμεν ἐόν in the same metrical position in Hom. *Od.* 11.282). On the use of the adversative ἀλλά in sentences ending other entries of suitors, see below, n. 86.

To conclude, neither vv. 1–5 (nor, according to another interpretation, 4–5) are to be considered as the proper entry of Agamemnon/Menelaus in the Catalogue of Suitors. It follows that the entry of Agamemnon/Menelaus located by West at vv. 1–5 of fr. 197 should be placed elsewhere in the Catalogue of Suitors, if at all.[81]

THE SONS OF AMPHIARAUS

υἱὼ δ᾽ Ἀμφιαράου Ὀϊκλείδαο ἄνακτος
ἐξ Ἄργεος ἐμνῶντο μά̣[λ᾽ ἐγ]γύθ̣εν· ἀλλ᾽ ἄρα καὶ τοὺς
ὧρσ]ε̣ θεῶν [. . . . . .νέ]μεσίς τ᾽ ἀ̣[νθρώπων
. . . .].θητ̣[Hesiod fr. 197.6–9

The two sons of Amphiaraus, son of Oikles, wooed from Argos, very close at hand; they too were urged by the . . . of the gods and the vengeance of men . . .

The occurrence of the Argive heroes Alcmaeon and Amphilochus, sons of Amphiaraus, amongst the suitors of Helen (fr. 197.6–9) is an early variant of the myth, unattested in the main stream of epic tradition, which brings about interesting considerations: the two brothers originate from the Theban epics and are included only in lists of the Epigonoi. Since all the suitors agreed in swearing the oath imposed by Tyndareus (fr. 204.77–85), the Hesiodic poem implies that Alcmaeon and Amphilochus were also bound to go to Troy. And yet neither of them is found amongst the Argive leaders – Diomedes, Sthenelus and Euryalus – who later on set off against Troy (Hom. *Il.* 2.559–68).[82] Their fate after the expedition of the Epigonoi is differentiated in the few sources reporting their stories: the two brothers separated after killing their mother Eriphyle in order to avenge their father Amphiaraus, who had summoned them to do so.

A presence at Troy is occasionally implied only for Amphilochus, the younger brother, whose name surfaces next to Agamemnon and Helen in a lacunose scrap of Stesichorus (*PMGF* 193.28–31);[83] his participation in the aftermath of the Trojan expedition was apparently known to the author of the epic poem *Melampodia* (Hes. frr. 278–9) and to traditions relating the

[81] West 1985a: 117. There may be no real need to posit an extended entry of Agamemnon/Menelaus as a suitor since, after being anticipated in frr. 197.4–5, 198.5–6, and 204.41–2, Menelaus' victory in the bridal contest is given full recognition in fr. 204.85–7, 93; only his place of origin would be missing.

[82] The only Homeric mention of Alcmaeon and Amphilochus occurs in the *Odyssey* (15.244–8), in a context connecting them to the Theban epics (death of Eriphyle).

[83] In the same early period, in a Tyrrhenian amphora of about 570/560 BC, Amphilochus is shown as one of the Greeks who killed Polyxena at Troy: see *LIMC* I 1, 715, *s.v.* 'Amphilochus' (I. Krauskopf), referring further to a hydria from the same period dealing with a Trojan episode and bearing the hero's name, and K. Schefold, *Götter- und Heldensagen der Griechen in der früh- und hocharchaischen Kunst* (Munich 1993) 334.

returns from Troy (Thuc. 2.68.3; Apollod. *Epit.* 6.2; ?6.30); the only other source to list Amphilochus amongst Helen's suitors is Apollodorus (*Bibl.* 3.10.8).[84]

The name of Alcmaeon as one of Helen's suitors in fr. 197 comes as a surprise if one considers that nowhere else is he connected to Troy; after committing matricide, Alcmaeon, haunted by the Erinyes, ended up in Arcadia and later moved to Psophis, where he was purified by the local king Phegeus and married his daughter Arsinoe; after further wanderings, he died at the hands of the brothers of Arsinoe (Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.6.2, 7.2, 7.5–7). Furthermore, the only source mentioning Alcmaeon in relation to Troy stresses that he never went there; according to Ephorus, Alcmaeon helped Diomedes to conquer Aetolia and Acarnania, but then did not comply with Agamemnon's request to move against Troy: he stayed on in Acarnania and founded a new city, Argos Amphilocheia.[85] Still, the episode presupposes acquaintance with the tradition concerning the oath sworn by the suitors, since this could be the only justification for Agamemnon's claim that Alcmaeon should join the Greek army at Troy; on the other hand, it can be interpreted as an explanation accounting for his absence at Troy, no differently from what happened with other heroes.

Once the presence of the sons of Amphiaraus in the very first phase of the Trojan cycle was established through their inclusion amongst Helen's suitors, it must be said that the Hesiodic entry (fr. 197.7–9) probably also accounted for their future absence from Troy: the adversative ἀλλά at v. 7 suggests that the wooing of Alcmaeon and Amphilochus was not successful, and introduces the reason which had cancelled any hope for victory in the contest.[86] If one accepts the plausible reading θεῶν [τ' ἄτη conjectured by West in the lacuna at v. 8 (ἀλλ' ἄρα καὶ τοὺς | ὥρσ]ε θεῶν [τ' ἄτη . . . νέ]μεσίς τ' ἀ[νθρώπων), vv. 8–9 must have alluded to the punishment sent by the gods (? the Erinyes), and to public disapproval for the matricide committed by the two brothers; in the end, the murder of Eriphyle drove them in different directions.

Following what has been noted earlier with regard to the likely presence of Thersander in the list of suitors, the presence of Alcmaeon and Amphilochus

[84] Both brothers are missing in the list of suitors given by Hyginus, *Fab.* 81; antiquarian sources seem often at a loss in distinguishing between two heroes with the name Amphilochus: the brother and the son of Alcmaeon. Quintus Smyrnaeus (12.325) places Amphilochus inside the Wooden Horse, with the best of the Achaeans.

[85] Ephorus, *FGrHist* 70 F 123 a,b = Strabo, 7.7.7, 10.2.25; see also Thucyd. 2.102.5; Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.8.5. According to another tradition, Argos Amphilocheia was founded by Amphilochus, the brother or son of Alcmaeon (Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.7.7).

[86] This was pointed out by Wilamowitz 1900: 842. Moreover, ἀλλά is likely to mark the final sentence of the entry of the two brothers, as suggested by comparison with the same construction in other entries: cf. the occurrence of ἀλλά in the final sentence in frr. 197.5, 198.1, 199.3 (see also fr. 204.85, 93).

in the same list and yet their striking absence from the events at Troy can be better explained if compared to the fate of two other heroes: Protesilaus and Philoctetes were listed amongst the suitors and bound by the oath, but are present at Troy only in the very first day of battle or in the final stage of the war.[87] As happens with Thersander, they do not appear in the events covered by the *Iliad* for reasons which were explained in the *Cypria* (argum. p. 40 B. = *EGF* 32): death on the first day of arrival (Protesilaus) and confinement on a desert island before arriving at Troy (Philoctetes), whereas Thersander met an earlier death in Mysia at the hands of Telephus when, in the course of the first expedition from Aulis, the Greeks mistook Theutrania for Troy.

Both Protesilaus and Philoctetes, however, are named in the Homeric Catalogue of Ships as former leaders of their contingent when the Greek fleet set off from Aulis: a short digression accounts for their absence and subsequent replacement with another leader at the head of their army (*Il.* 2.698–709; 718–28). Accordingly, we can posit that the omission of Thersander, Alcmaeon and Amphilochus from the main stream of epic tradition represented in the Catalogue of Ships is due to their insertion in the Trojan cycle at a later stage than the Homeric poems. The three Epigonoi were arguably well established in the Theban epics, but their connection with Troy was forcibly looser and could not possibly conflict with the Catalogue of Ships. Consequently, they had to undergo an earlier exit from the scene than Protesilaus and Philoctetes, *before* the Greek army set off for the second time from Aulis: with such a careful location, they did not even have to be mentioned in the ultimate catalogue of the Greeks fighting at Troy. Just as Thersander died in Mysia at the hands of Telephus in the *first* expedition, in the Hesiodic version the disappearance of the sons of Amphiaraus must have occurred even earlier in the chronology of events, before any preparation for the war at Troy was initiated. The Hesiodic version can be viewed as an integration of the Homeric version, probably with the aim of creating an alternative tradition whereby through Alcmaeon and Amphilochus the powerful family of the Melampodids from which they descended was inserted in the Trojan cycle along with Diomedes, Sthenelus and Euryalus, the offspring of the two other families ruling Argos at the time, the Anaxagorids (Sthenelus) and the Biantids (Euryalus), to whom Diomedes was related, as he had married a daughter of

[87] Protesilaus is listed amongst the suitors of Helen in fr. 199.4–11; Philoctetes does not appear in the extant fragments, but has been convincingly located by West 1985a: 118 a few entries after Protesilaus; as happens in the *Iliad* (2.724–5), his mention in the Catalogue of Suitors would be justified also by the fact that his bow was an essential instrument for the fall of Troy. On the inclusion of Thersander in the Catalogue of Suitors and the *Cypria*, see above, pp. 129–30.

Adrastus.[88] As happens with a good number of heroes unattested in the Homeric poems, amongst whom was another Argive, Cyanippus the son of Adrastus, the presence of the sons of Amphiaraus at Troy was picked up and elaborated upon in a later period by historians, mythographers and antiquarians.[89]

Far from being mere speculations, these remarks help clarify the multiple function of the Hesiodic Catalogue of Suitors in relation to the Trojan cycle: focusing on the episodes – such as the wooing of Helen and the oath of the suitors – which triggered the war, it was composed to serve both as an introduction to, and an integration of, the *Cypria* and the *Iliad*; at the same time, the Catalogue of Suitors provided a closer connection with the Theban cycle by adding the figures of Alcmaeon, Amphilochus and presumably Thersander, who also appears in the *Cypria*. The few discrepancies with the *Iliad* which emerge from the extant fragments are consistent with the fact that the Hesiodic and the Homeric catalogues reflect different stages in the course of the war (or preparation for it), thus fulfilling different purposes.[90]

BOASTFUL AJAX MISINTERPRETED

Αἴας δ' ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος ἀμώμητος πολεμιστής
μνᾶτο· δίδου δ' ἄρα ἕδνα ξ̣[ο]ι̣κότα, θαυματὰ ἔργα·
οἳ γὰρ ἔχον Τροιζῆνα καὶ ἀγ[χ]ίαλον Ἐπίδαυρον
νῆσόν τ' Αἴγιναν Μάσητά τε κοῦρ̣ο̣[ι] Ἀχαιῶν
καὶ Μέγαρα σκιόεντα καὶ ὀφρυόεντα Κόρ̣ινθον,
Ἑρμιόνην Ἀσίνην τε παρὲξ ἅλ̣α̣ γ̣αιητ̣άωσας,
τῶν ἕφατ' εἰλίποδάς τε βόας κ[α]ι̣ [ἴ]φ̣ι̣α μ̣ῆλα
συνελάσας δώσειν· ἐκέκαστο γὰρ ἔγχεϊ μ̣ακρῶι̣.

Hesiod fr. 204.44–51

[88] Diomedes is connected to yet another daughter of Adrastus, his mother Deipyle, who married Tydeus. On the relation between the three ruling families at Argos and the readjustments of epic genealogies for political purposes in archaic Greece, see Cingano 1989, 2004: 62–5, with bibliography on the sons of Amphiaraus at n. 26 (add Kullmann 1960: 148–54).

[89] On Cyanippus, see above (n. 42); Ibyc. S 151. 36–7 D., with scholia *ad loc.*

[90] A third list of heroes may have occurred in the *Cypria*, *pace* the recent dismissal of such an hypothesis by J. Latacz (*BCMR* 2002.02.15, pt. II n. 23) on the grounds that Proclus' summary only mentions a catalogue of allies of the Trojans. Actually, Proclus leaves open the possibility that the *Cypria* may have included a presentation of the major Achaean leaders when Menelaus toured Greece to recruit the army: cf. argum. *Cypria* p. 40, 30 B. = *EGF* 31, 40: ἔπειτα τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἀθροίζουσιν ἐπελθόντες τὴν Ἑλλάδα. This possibility had already been raised by H. T. Wade-Gery, *The Poet of the Iliad* (Cambridge 1952) 55, 84–5, n. 113.

A catalogue of Greek heroes in the *Cypria* has been advocated amongst others by U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Homerische Untersuchungen* (Berlin 1884) 374; W. Leaf, *The Iliad* I (London, 2nd ed. 1900) 86; G. Murray, *The Rise of the Greek Epic* (Oxford, 4th ed. 1934) 179; Kullmann 1960: 139 n. 2; J. Burgess, 'The non-Homeric *Cypria*', *TAPA* 126 (1996) 86 n. 36; for the opposite view, see e.g. F. Jacoby, *SPAW* (1932) 611–12; D. Page, *History and the Homeric Iliad* (Berkeley/Los Angeles 1959) 168 n. 48.

From Salamis Ajax, the blameless warrior, wooed her; he offered fitting wedding-gifts, amazing deeds. Those who lived in Troizen and Epidaurus near the sea and the island of Aegina and Mases, the sons of the Achaeans, and shadowy Megara and beetling Corinth and Hermione and Asine which lie by the sea – he said that he would gather together their shambling cattle and sturdy sheep and give these, for he was outstanding with the long spear.

The entry of Ajax Telamonius in fr. 204.44–51 has met in recent years with quite a different fate from the oblivion suffered by the remaining fragments of the Catalogue of Suitors. Comparison of the formulaic diction of these lines with the nearly identical ones in the Homeric Catalogue of Ships (2.557–62, 570) has brought M. Finkelberg to the conclusion that the lines on Ajax reflect a 'genuine traditional version independent' of the Homeric entries of Ajax and Argos. According to Finkelberg, this interpretation would also bring about other positive consequences by throwing light 'on such difficult points as the under-representation of Ajax and the insignificance of Athens in the Trojan war'; finally, by leaving Diomedes with Argos and Tiryns only, and placing all the other cities attributed to him in the *Iliad* under the control of Ajax, this version would perhaps reduce the dominions of Diomedes to more natural proportions with respect to Agamemnon's realm in the *Iliad*.[91]

The thesis put forward by Finkelberg rests entirely on the assumption that in the Hesiodic text Ajax is in full command of the cities listed in his entry; his status and power are therefore considerably enhanced in contrast to his under-representation in the *Iliad*. At first sight, Finkelberg's theory seems to solve in the most brilliant way the controversial problem of Ajax's entry in the Catalogue of Ships and other related problems; in doing so, it also opens up a new and suggestive perspective on an early epic tradition independent of Homer, and has therefore become quite influential.[92] As I hope to have

[91] Finkelberg 1988: 35, 37–8; in the Hesiodic version, Agamemnon would only be deprived of one city, Corinth, to the advantage of Ajax. For the sake of clarity, it is convenient to give here the Homeric text (*Il.* 2.557–63, 569–70) with the underlining provided by Finkelberg in order to stress the formulae and expressions shared by the two passages:

> Αἴας δ' ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος ἄγεν δυοκαίδεκα νῆας,
> στῆσε δ' ἄγων ἵν' Ἀθηναίων ἵσταντο φάλαγγες.
> οἳ δ' Ἄργός τ' εἶχον Τίρυνθά τε τειχιόεσσαν
> Ἑρμιόνην Ἀσίνην τε, βαθὺν κατὰ κόλπον ἐχούσας,
> Τροιζῆν' Ἠιόνας τε καὶ ἀμπελόεντ' Ἐπίδαυρον,
> οἵ τ' ἔχον Αἴγιναν Μάσητά τε κοῦροι Ἀχαιῶν,
> τῶν αὖθ' ἡγεμόνευε βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Διομήδης . . .
> . . . οἳ δὲ Μυκήνας εἶχον ἐϋκτίμενον πτολίεθρον
> ἀφνειόν τε Κόρινθον ἐϋκτιμένας τε Κλεωνάς. . . .

[92] Although with varying nuances, Finkelberg's interpretation has met with widespread acceptance amongst scholars: see M.-Fr. Billot, 'Apollon Pythéen et l'Argolide archaïque. Histoire et mythes',

shown in an earlier contribution, a close scrutiny of the relevant Homeric and Hesiodic passages does not, however, support Finkelberg's analysis of formulaic diction and the conclusions she reaches.[93] Her determination to underrate the status of some Homeric formulae at *Il.* 2.557–70 in order to confer upon the Hesiodic formulae in fr. 204.44–51 a greater degree of 'archaicity' and reliability can, I think, be convincingly challenged.[94] For brevity, I shall limit myself to the broader issues.

A catalogue of places is surely a traditional motif in epic poetry (in addition to the Catalogue of Ships, see *HHDem.* 490–1; *HHApollo* 30–44, 179–81, 214–86, 422–29) and can also be associated with a list of bridal gifts, as in Hom. *Il.* 9.149–53. And yet, on the one hand, the Hesiodic passage is nearly identical with the list of cities placed under the control of Argos and (regarding Corinth only) Mycenae in the Homeric Catalogue of Ships, where the names of the leaders are followed by a list of name-places under their dominion. On the other hand, whereas the entire Homeric Catalogue is built upon this very structure, the phrasing and structure of Ajax's entry is unique in the Hesiodic Catalogue of Suitors, and presents a number of peculiarities and inconsistencies in matters of grammar and syntax originating from necessity to modify and adapt phrases which are alien to its own bridal context.

After the allusion to the 'wonderful presents' Ajax was offering (v. 45, δίδου δ' ἄρα ἕδνα ἐ[ο]ικότα θαυματὰ ἔργα) one would expect a proper list of gifts to follow, harmonising with the narrative pattern of most other

Ἀρχαιογνωσία 6 (1989–90), 68–9; Nagy 1990b: 73 n. 106; Wickersham 1991: 29–30; P. Marchetti, 'Homère, Diomède et l' Argos Polydipsion. De la guerre thébaine à la guerre de Troie', in *Quaestiones Homericae*, eds. L. Isebaert & R. Lebrun (Louvain-Namur 1998) 202–8; Rutherford 2000: 82; M. L. West, *Studies in the Text and Transmission of the* Iliad (Munich–Leipzig 2001) 180.

[93] See Cingano 1990: 111–17. I would now be less concerned about the poetic skill of the Hesiodic rhapsode, and stress even more than previously that both the *Iliad* and the Catalogue of Suitors draw upon an epic tradition dealing with lists of heroes and bridal contests. For a formulaic analysis of Ajax's entry see also Schwartz 1960: 421–3; Meier 1976: 95–6, 175–9, 184–6; C. O. Pavese – P. Venti, *A Complete Formular Analysis of the Hesiodic Poems* (Amsterdam 2000) 316–17.

[94] *Pace* Finkelberg, the slight differences in poetic diction between the Homeric section on Argos and Mycenae, and the Hesiodic text, do not point to a different – and possibly earlier – characterisation of the latter; rather, they can easily be accounted for as minor variants in a broader epic formulaic system. They concern: 1) the usage of two epithets such as ἀγχίαλον (fr. 204.46), referred to Epidaurus instead of ἀμπελόεντ' (*Il.* 2.561); ὀφρυόεντα, referred to Corinth in fr. 204.48 instead of ἀφνειόν (2.570); 2) the phrase νῆσόν τ' (fr. 204.47) instead of the Homeric οἵ τ' ἔχον (Αἴγιναν, 2.562), attested throughout the Catalogue of Ships; and 3) the expression παρὲξ ἅλα ναιεταώσας (fr. 204.49) contrasted to the Homeric βαθὺν κατὰ κόλπον ἐχούσας (2.560); contrary to Finkelberg's claim, this phrase implies no factual error in the Homeric version: see G. S. Kirk, *The Iliad. A Commentary*, Vol. I: Books 1–4 (Cambridge 1985) 209; Cingano 1990: 112–13; Visser 1997: 462–3. Geographical inconcinnities are rather to be viewed in the Hesiodic entry, since Asine is quite far from Salamis, and the same applies to Hermione. On Μέγαρα σκιόεντα, see below, n. 110.

entries (cf. frr. 197.1–2, 198.10–1, 199.9–11, 200.4–5), and also with the similar context in Hom. *Il.* 9.149–52. Surprisingly, we have instead a list of the cities where Ajax was willing to go and win for himself the bridal gifts for Helen (vv. 46–9). The list opens with the expression οἳ γὰρ ἔχον, 'they who held', the most appropriate formulation in the Catalogue of Ships, introducing the cities placed under the command of each leader.[95] The phrasing οἳ γὰρ ἔχον . . . τῶν which frames the catalogue of cities in fr. 204.46/50 picks up οἳ . . . τῶν referring to the same cities in *Il.* 2.559–62/3; such a correlation governs most lists of place-names in the Catalogue of Ships,[96] with τῶν expressing the same 'meaning of possession' as in fr. 204.50.[97]

It may well be that, regarding other shared formulae, the Hesiodic entry and the Homeric Catalogue draw upon the same epic tradition concerning the Trojan War. One should note, however, that in the Homeric entries of the Catalogue of Ships τῶν belongs to the formular verse-form containing the names of the leaders,[98] whereas in fr. 204.50 it is not governed by a verb indicating command or possession; on the contrary, τῶν refers to properties (cattle) belonging to cities which were not under Ajax's command.[99] As a consequence, the formulaic construct is disrupted and an awkward sentence follows, looking forward to the future (vv. 46–51): '[Of all] they who held Troezen and Epidaurus . . . he said that he would drive together and give [to Helen] their oxen and sheep, since he excelled with his long spear', οἳ γὰρ ἔχον Τροιζῆνα καὶ ἀγχίαλον Ἐπίδαυρον . . . τῶν ἔφατ' εἰλίποδάς τε βόας κ[α]ὶ [ἴ]φι ̣ μ̣ῆλα | συνελάσας δώσειν· ἐκέκαστο γὰρ ἔγχεϊ μ̣ακρῶι̣.

[95] In the Homeric Catalogue it alternates with οἵ δ' [or τ'] ἔχον or οἳ δ(ἑ) . . . τ' (ἄρ') εἶχον, according to metrical requirements (see eg. *Il.* 2.562, 581, 584, 603, 683, 730, 734, 735). On the structure of the entries in the Catalogue of Ships, see B. Powell, 'Word patterns in the Catalogue of Ships (B 494–709): a structural analysis of Homeric language', *Hermes* 106 (1978) 255–64; Edwards 1980, with p. 97 on the Catalogue of Suitors; Kirk (previous note) 170–7; C. Higbie, *Measure and Music. Enjambement and Sentence Structure in the* Iliad (Oxford 1990) 124–9; Visser 1997: 53–61; *Homers Ilias Gesamtkommentar*, ed. J. Latacz, (Munich/Leipzig 2003) II 2, 145–54.

[96] See *Il.* 2.496/509; 511/12, 536/40 546/52, 569/76; 603/609; 681–85, *passim*); on this phrasing, see M. Cantilena, *Ricerche sulla dizione epica* (Rome 1982) 206–7.

[97] Cf. *Il.* 2.509: τῶν . . . νέες; *Od.* 20.51 . . . τῶν ἐλάσαιο βόας καὶ ἴφια μήλα. For correlations of pronouns framing lists see *HHApollo* 30/44 (ὅσσους/τόσσον in a list of cities: see also 250–2); Hes. fr. 1.3–14, αἳ τότ' ἄρισται ἔσαν . . . | τ̣άων ἔσπετε . . . This formulation is quite rare in poetry other than catalogic: to my knowledge, οἳ δ' εἶχον correlated to a demonstrative – although in a different case (with dative) – occurs elsewhere only in Hes. *Aspis* 310–12 and Solon fr. 5.3–4 W.

[98] The most frequent formulation is τῶν + ἡγεμόνευε (or ἦρχε / ἡγησάσθην) + name of leader: cf. *Il.* 2.540, 552, 563, 576, 586, 621, 678, *passim*.

[99] τῶν ἔφατ' (fr. 204.50) has a metrical and homophonous parallel in Hes. *Theog.* 395, τὸν δ' ἔφαθ'; cf. also the more common ὣς φάτο at the beginning of the line (Hes. *Theog.* 167, 173, 545, *passim*; Hom. *passim*).

In point of fact, Ajax is just boasting that he can plunder other people's property. As was cogently pointed out by W. Leaf nearly a century ago, a correct reading of the text reveals that – no differently from the *Iliad* version – the Hesiodic version did not credit Ajax with any new dominions, apart from his homeland Salamis.[100] There is no indication here whatsoever that the cities are under his rule; indeed, the vocabulary in fr. 204.50–1 is consistent with the action of plundering and aggression against a neighbouring state. The verb (συν)ελαύνω, '(to gather and) drive', is often used for cattle-raiding (called βοηλασίη in Hom *Il.* 11.672); the practice is well attested in the heroic age and in epic poetry, as documented amongst others by the myths of Heracles and Geryon and of the Dioscuri stealing the cattle of Idas and Lynceus (argum. *Cypria* p. 40, 21 B. =*EGF* 31, 28). Another cattle raid also in relation to a bridal contest occurs in the wooing of Pero;[101] a similarity may be spotted between the Hesiodic passage and *Od.* 23.355–8, where Odysseus intends to make up for the loss of cattle caused by the suitors by raiding someone's cattle elsewhere.[102] Moreover, the phrase ἐκέκαστο γὰρ ἔγχεϊ μακρῶι 'he excelled with his long spear', leaves no doubt that Ajax intended to acquire the cattle by looting from the places located on the Saronic Gulf. ἔγχεϊ μακρῶι refers to Salaminian Ajax in two occurrences out of five in Homer (*Il.* 13.177; 15.745);[103] the expression ἐκέκαστο γὰρ ἔγχεϊ μακρῶι 'he excelled with his long spear', may have been created through analogy with Hom. *Il.* 2.530 (a passage near the entry on Salaminian Ajax, 557–8), where the expression ἐγχείηι δ' ἐκέκαστο refers to Ajax Oileus.[104]

[100] W. Leaf, 'Hesiod and the Dominions of Ajax', *CR* 24 (1910) 179–80, objecting to a note by T. W. Allen, 'Argos in Homer', *CQ* 3 (1909) 83–5. Allen subsequently modified his opinion (see *CR* 24 (1910) 241).

[101] See Hom. *Od.* 11.287–91, Hes. fr. 37.2–7; Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.9.2, all of them relating to the wooing of Pero. On (συν)ελαύνω and the motif of cattle-raiding in epic poetry see Hom. *Il.* 1.152–4; 11. 670–84 (Nestor and the Pylians); *Od.* 20.49–51; 21.18–19 (the Messenians); argum. *Cypria* p. 42, 61 B. = *EGF* 32, 79 (Achilles); the legitimacy of such a practice is confirmed by Achilles, *Il.* 9.406–9, and by Odysseus, *Od.*23.355–8. See Brelich (above n. 60) 258–9; B. Lincoln, 'The Indo-European cattle-raiding myth', *HR* 16 (1976) 42–65; P. Walcot, 'Cattle raiding, heroic tradition and ritual: the Greek evidence', *HR* 18 (1979) 326–51 (misinterpreting Hes. *WD* 161–5). For a comparative approach, see e.g. R. Pettazzoni, *Essays on the History of Religions* (Leiden 1954) 76–7; M. Herzfeld, *The Poetics of Manhood* (Princeton 1985) 163–205.

[102] Cf. δώσουσ' in *Od.* 23.358 with δώσειν in fr. 204.51, both at the beginning of the line. In Hes. fr. 43a 76 the expression βοῦς ἐλάσα[ς (without referring to cattle-raiding) occurs in the same metrical position as συνελάσας here, to represent Sisyphus' bridal gifts (on behalf of his son Glaucus) for the hand of Eurynome.

[103] Cf. Meier 1976: 249 no. 712.

[104] The form ἐκέκαστο is usually accompanied by a complement object (Πανέλληνας καὶ Ἀχαιούς in *Il.* 2.530) or a dative, both missing in fr. 204.51. In Cingano 1990: 114 n. 10, I should not have stated that in epic poetry ἐκέκαστο *always* requires a complement object: it does so in Hom. *Il.* 2.530;

With regard to the remark that vv. 46–51 suggest looting by Ajax rather than regular possession, Finkelberg concedes that Leaf was 'probably right', but disposes of it in the course of her argument, stressing that Ajax was none the less 'exercising control over the lands' ascribed to Diomedes and Agamemnon in the *Iliad*.[105] It is to be noticed, however, that cattle-raiding by no means implies control over a territory, but rather a temporary invasion of it; the occurrences show that the raiders' only goal is to steal the cattle, with no intention to conquer or stay in the territory, the priority being that the cattle have to be quickly *driven away* (συνελαύνειν) to the raiders' homeland.[106]

In other words, contrary to what happens with the other suitors, Ajax's wealth is only potential: he is still to conquer the properties by which he hopes to win Helen as his bride. It comes as no surprise that some scholars have spotted here a deliberate caricature of Ajax's heroic stature, an unwelcome statement of his poverty matched by a megalomaniac pronouncement that in his search for wealth he would have attacked not just one city or population, as is the norm with cattle raids, but eight cities, nearly the entire coast of the Saronic Gulf.[107] Consequently, what we have here is not an earlier entry for Ajax preferable to the couplet in the *Iliad*, nor is it 'incompatible' with the Homeric version or independent of it. To put it simply, I would say that the Hesiodic poet has elaborated upon the Homeric passage, or a similar epic tradition, in the attempt to create a different status for Ajax.[108] Since he was too prominent a figure in the Greek army at Troy, second only to Achilles for his bravery in battle and also a protagonist in the aftermath of the *Iliad*, Ajax could not be omitted in the Catalogue of Suitors, and deserved the same attention as the other heroes, in contrast to the exceptional brevity of the Homeric mention.

The genuine interest of these lines lies precisely in that they show full awareness of how unsatisfactory the Homeric version concerning Ajax's dominions was felt in archaic Greece, and also how epic diction could be reworked with an aim to improve upon Homeric failures, albeit

16.808; *Od.* 2.158; 19.395; Hes. *Aspis* 4 (ἐκαίνυτο), but not in *Il.* 5.54 nor in *Od.* 9.509; cf. also *Il.* 4.339; *Od.* 4.725.

[105] Finkelberg 1988: 32 n. 6, neglecting the consequences brought about by such a significant redistribution of territory (see below, pp. 149–51).

[106] Cf. Hom. *Il.* 11.671–72, 682–3 (Nestor speaking): ὡς ὁπότ' Ἠλείοισι καὶ ἡμῖν νεῖκος ἐτύχθη | ἀμφὶ βοηλασίῃ, . . . καὶ τὰ μὲν ἠλασάμεσθα Πύλον Νηλήϊον εἴσω | ἐννύχιοι προτὶ ἄστυ.

[107] See, for instance, Edwards 1980: 91 n. 24.

[108] Before Finkelberg, this view was widely accepted: see, e.g., Wilamowitz 1907: 38; Meier 1976: 184–6, 206; Janko 1982: 248 n. 39; West 1985a: 132–3 n. 21. A further reminiscence can be seen in the next entry of Elephenor (fr. 204.52–5), which in the *Iliad* precedes Athens with the identical line Χαλκωδοντιάδης μεγαθύμων ἀρχὸς Ἀβάντων (*Il.* 2.541 ~ fr. 204.53).

unsuccessfully in this case. Both in the Homeric Catalogue of Ships and in the Hesiodic passage, the entry on Ajax reveals problems which cannot possibly be resolved any more. Damage to the Homeric text had already been done, and apparently no alternative entry on Ajax was available to the poet of the Catalogue of Suitors;[109] accordingly, the Hesiodic poet set to fill the lacuna created by the abridged *Iliad* text by adapting the Homeric entry of Ajax and expanding it with mention of the cities under the rule of Argos and Mycenae: these were the nearest entries to Ajax, and also the ones within raiding distance of Salamis. The cities he included – Troezen, Epidaurus, Aegina, Masetes, Megara, Corinth, Hermione and Asine – had the advantage of having no suitors attached to them. His only personal contribution was to insert Μέγαρα σκιόεντα (v. 48) amongst those already known from the Homeric Catalogue; in doing so, 'he has given the Megarians what they in vain sought from Homer, an heroic existence', although not under the banner of Ajax, as was claimed by Allen.[110]

Once the thesis that Ajax ruled over the cities mentioned is disproved, the problem of his dominions in relation to those of Diomedes and Agamemnon founders. Besides, since it does not belong to the Hesiodic text, where – as far as we can see – no representation of such dominions is given and the entries on Athens, Salamis, and Argos are unconnected, it should actually be better viewed as a separate issue. In any case, I would like to point out that the problems raised by the entries of Salamis, Argos and Mycenae in the Homeric Catalogue of Ships are by no means solved by an interpretation of fr. 204.44–51, which places eight cities of the Saronic Gulf under the control of Ajax; on the contrary, the new relocation would just create new problems and open the way to new questions. To limit myself to Argos, if all the cities from north-eastern Peloponnese listed in vv. 46–9 were under the rule of Ajax, the Argive leaders Diomedes, Sthenelus, Euryalus and the sons of Amphiaraus would be ruling only over Tiryns. According to the Hesiodic version, the heroes representing the powerful families of

[109] See Wilamowitz 1907: 38, although I do not share his view that at the time Ajax had already been incorporated by Athens. For an attempt to reconstruct an alternative version of Ajax's entry in the Catalogue of Ships, see Higbie 1997: 283–5.

[110] The quotation is from Allen (above, n. 100) 84. In the *Iliad*, the territory controlled by Ajax is limited to Salamis (*Il.* 2.557–8 quoted above, n. 91). According to Strabo 9.1.10, in early times the Megarians replied to the Athenian claim to Salamis with a parody, substituting v. 558 with a line which included four Megarian places: Αἴας δ' ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος ἄγεν νέας, ἔκ τε Πολίχνης | ἔκ τ' Αἰγειρούσσης Νισαίης τε Τριπόδων τε. No matter how designed it was to meet Megarian pride, the expression Μέγαρα σκιόεντα in fr. 204.48 originated from the peculiar readaptation of the Homeric formula μέγαρα σκιόεντα, 'dark, shadowy chambers' (see LSJ *s.v.* σκιόεις); the epithet is surely more appropriate to the noun than to the city, as was noted by Porphyry, *Quaest. hom. Od.*, p. 22.9 Schrader; on this see G. S. Korres, *Athena* 72 (1971) 216; Meier 1976: 178–9.

the Biantids, of the Melampodids and of the Anaxagorids at Troy would therefore find themselves confined to a very limited area indeed, subject to pressure from Agamemnon from the north, from Ajax from the eastern part of the Peloponnese, and from the Arcadians from the western inland area (cf. Hom. *Il.* 2.603–14).[111] Such a representation completely underrates the importance of the Theban epics in shaping the genealogies and the territorial organisation of the Peloponnese in the epic–heroic age. Furthermore, the drastic reduction of territory would not match any historical representation of Argos in the archaic age; it would also conflict with the prominence of Argos in the traditions related to the Theban epics. This said, the quite peculiar separation of Tiryns from Mycenae found in the Homeric Catalogue would still be left unaccounted for. But the only reason for the absence of Tiryns from Ajax's entry could be that, in the Homeric entry on Argos, Tiryns was in the same opening line as Argos, and to remove it from there would have been too bold a step.[112]

I think that a different approach must be taken when confronting the controversial problem of the realms of Diomedes and Agamemnon in the *Iliad*, which in the end originates from the difficulty of accommodating in the same limited space (north-eastern Peloponnese) the vast number of diverging traditions and of genealogies circulating in early Greece concerning the Pelopid and the Argive families. They were conveyed and buttressed by epic poetry, and may have represented different claims to the territory. The bizarre division between the realms of Diomedes and Agamemnon cannot possibly be interpreted on historical grounds;[113] rather, the inconcinnities reflect a clash between different traditions pertaining to the same area, in a time '. . . when heroic poetry [was] alive in the Argolid, but focused on Thebes, not yet on Troy'.[114] The entry of Argos was rooted in the Theban epics, and therefore could not but give prominence – and a vast territory – to the families whose members ruled over Argos and were the protagonists of the epic poems *Thebais* and the *Epigonoi*; on the other hand, the purported diminution of status and prestige of Agamemnon in

[111] This has been noted also by Marchetti (above n. 92) 203 who, however, expanding upon Finkelberg's interpretation, sees in these lines a historical version which credits Ajax with the Homeric kingdom of Diomedes.

[112] Hom. *Il.* 2.559: οἳ δ' Ἄργός τ' εἶχον Τίρυνθά τε τειχιόεσσαν. On the placing of Tiryns under Diomedes' rule, see Visser 1997: 72–7.

[113] On this point see Cingano 2004: 65–8, with bibliography.

[114] West 1985a: 153; according to W. Burkert, the dominion of Agamemnon in the *Iliad* '. . . est le résultat de la superposition de deux traditions concernant Agamemnon et Diomède. Il faut qu'Argos appartienne à Diomède' ('La cité d' Argos entre la tradition mycénienne, dorienne et homérique' (*Kernos* Supplem. 8, 1998) = *Kleine Schriften* I. *Homerica* (Göttingen 2001) 171).

contrast to Diomedes has nothing to do with it, but only reflects his late arrival in the Argive territory: 'the Pelopid stemma bears all the marks of having been 'grafted on' to the Argive genealogies'.[115]

In other words, it is the strength of epic traditions which has shaped the Homeric representation of the realms of Diomedes and Agamemnon, and it is pointless to theorise on the symbolic and political value of a redistribution of cities which, as I hope to have shown, did not even take place.

To conclude, in the light of what has been said, I do not think that the poet of the Catalogue of Suitors can be seen as a mouthpiece of Athenian domination over Salamis.[116] In the absence of further evidence, the fact that Ajax does not direct his looting against Attica and Athens but 'only' targets the eastern part of the Peloponnese does not, in my opinion, reflect an early association of Athens with Salamis. I would rather assume that the very absence of any Attic city other than Athens in the Catalogue of Ships has in fact directed the Hesiodic poet towards the Homeric entries of Argos and (for what regards Corinth only) Mycenae, where he could find a number of suitable places for Ajax's looting, unattached to any suitor. Two more points are worth emphasising: 1) the entry of Menestheus (fr. 200.3–9) is given no prominence or hint whatsoever which might prove a penchant for Athens in the Hesiodic poet; his wealth and determination to win the hand of Helen are stressed just as happens with most suitors; and 2) most of all, Menestheus here is unconnected to Ajax: differently from the Homeric Catalogue (cf. *Il.* 2.546–58), there is no artful juxtaposition of the Athenian and Salaminian entries. The section on the Athenian suitors (fr. 200.1–13) seems to be separate from the entry of Ajax, unless one is willing to believe that three Athenian heroes were named in a catalogue much sketchier than the Homeric one; besides, in the extant fragments no instance is found of three heroes coming from the same city or area, although this may be due to the gaps in the text. The second Athenian entry in the Hesiodic Catalogue was probably Polypoites, the son of Perithous, 'coming from Theseus' house instead of from north of the Peneios . . .' (cf. Diod. Sic. 4.63.1).[117] There seems to be no room left for the sons of

[115] The quotation is from Hall 1997: 90.

[116] This was the view of Wilamowitz 1907: 37–8; Leaf (above, n. 100) 180. In this respect, I agree with Finkelberg 1988: 40.

[117] West 1985a: 117 n. 197, suggesting δίου δ' Αἰ]γείδαο δόμους κρατερὸς [Πολυποίτης. See also Wilamowitz 1900: 845. On Athens and Menestheus in these lines and in Homer, see West 1985a: 132–3 n. 21; F. Cantarelli, 'Il personaggio di Menesteo nel mito e nelle ideologie politiche greche', *RIL* 108 (1974) 460–70; Higbie 1997: 283–7; *LIMC* VI 1, 473–75 *s.v.* 'Menestheus' (E. Simon). For the possible exception of three suitors coming from the same city (Argos) see above, pp. 130–1.

Theseus, Akamas and Demophon, who at a later stage of the epic tradition stepped into the Greek expedition at Troy with the double purpose of buttressing the role and presence of Menestheus and Athens in the Trojan epics, and of securing for the family of Theseus a place in the most significant event of the heroic age.[118]

[118] On the sons of Theseus in the epic tradition, cf. argum. *Iliou Pers.* p. 89, 21 B. = *EGF* 62, 33; *Iliou Pers*. fr. 6 B. = 4 D.; Hellanic. *FGrHist* 4 F 143; scholia Eur. *Hec*. 123, *Tro*. 31 Schwartz; Apollod. *Epit*. 5.22; Paus. 10.25.8; see *LIMC* I 1, *s.v.* 'Akamas et Demophon', 435–9 (U. Kron); A. Aloni, *Tradizioni arcaiche della Troade e composizione dell'*Iliade (Milan 1986) 25–41; Gantz 1993: 644, 657–8.

CHAPTER 7

Pulp epic: the Catalogue *and the* Shield

Richard P. Martin

'All normal people need both classics and trash.' George Bernard Shaw's adage, comforting to those whose personal preferences lean towards rap music rather than *Rigoletto*, can also apply to the professional realm. Trash and classics go hand in hand. Mutually self-defining as these are, however, one rarely finds them brought together in the same critical discourse, any more than one finds them embodied in a single writer (apart from rarities like the noir novelist Raymond Chandler, who took top marks in the Civil Service classics exam of 1907).[1]

In this paper, I propose to reread a problematic classical (if not classic) text, the *Shield of Heracles* attributed to Hesiod, by using a 'trash aesthetic'. Explicit reference to this aesthetic has increasingly played a role in the analysis of a wide range of artistic productions and cultural forms, from trailer parks to New Jersey hairstyles to Bill Clinton's girlfriends. Film bulks largest in the aesthetic consideration of trash, and vocabulary and examples from movies will be useful in this analysis. The subcategory of trash analysis centring on verbal narrative (called 'pulp theory' after the novels – like Chandler's – once thought to be worth less than the cheap paper they were printed on) will also prove helpful.[2]

The discovery of a likeness between pulp film and written narrative is of course nothing new, as the media have always been symbiotic in production as in reception. The young Brendan Behan, when locked up in a British prison, used to pass the time with other Borstal Boys who had been denied books by telling what they called 'pictures' – that is, stories they could all piece together from remembered gangster films.[3] At another level, Quentin Tarantino's brilliant trash masterpiece *Pulp Fiction* asserts the

[1] On the formative influence of Chandler's classical education at Dulwich College, London, see Hiney 1997: 15–16, 21, 24 and Bloom 1996: 48–9.

[2] Useful introductions centred on film are Cartmell et al. 1997, Schaefer 1999, Mendik and Harper 2000. For the trash mode in literary analysis, see Hawkins 1990.

[3] Behan 1959: 334.

essential likeness of trashy novels and trashy films. This exploration of the trashiest piece of ancient Greek heroic poetry is in homage to him.[4] Who says the *Aspis* (as I will call the poem, to distinguish it from the description of Achilles' shield in the *Iliad*) is trash? Just about every Hellenist who bothers to mention it. The poem has the worst reputation accorded any piece of surviving hexameter poetry. Albin Lesky says: 'A poet of limited gifts has tried to elevate and ennoble a standard feature of epic but has merely defaced and distorted it.'[5] For Thalmann, 'the poem's execution is not worthy of the underlying conception' though he concedes that even as mediocre a poet as the composer of the *Aspis* could milk some meaning out of the standard technique of scenic juxtaposition.[6] Professors Barron and Easterling in the *Cambridge History of Classical Literature* call the *Aspis* 'a weak and muddled account of the fight between Heracles and Cycnus', which 'lacks the strength and wit of Hesiod' and 'depends for its effects on sheer accumulation of detail, preferably detail of a sensational kind'.[7] On the whole, they conclude, it is clumsily adapted from Homer. Martin West, in the second and third editions of the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, concurs: 'Disproportion is characteristic of the work; the Homeric apparatus of arming, divine machination, brave speeches, and long similes is lavished on an encounter in which two blows are struck in all. Parts of the description of the shield betray a taste for the macabre.'[8]

For nineteenth-century appreciations, we can turn to Paley, who in turn transmits and approves the colourful views of Welcker's nemesis, Colonel Mure. 'Wild and fantastic, without originality, and turgid without dignity' is the Colonel's judgement. 'Not only is the poetical law against rude collisions of heterogeneous elements completely set at naught, but the text is often, to all appearances, purposely so disposed, that the same line contains the conclusion of one and the commencement of another image of the most offensively opposite character. The joyous is suddenly converted into the pathetic, the tender into the terrible, with an almost burlesque effect.'[9] J. P. Mahaffy, at the end of the century, was somewhat kinder in his appraisal, noting that 'had we lost the *Iliad*, we should doubtless admire many of its features in the copy' (by which, he means the *ekphrasis* in the *Aspis*). But fortunately, he goes on to say, 'we are not reduced to this extremity'.[10] Where the *Iliad* shield is exciting and picturesque, says Mahaffy, the *Aspis* is 'merely terrible and weird'. Which makes one think that perhaps Mahaffy's

[4] On the development of Tarantino's aesthetic, see Woods 1996.
[5] Lesky 1966: 104. [6] Thalmann 1984: 62–4. [7] Barron and Easterling 1989: 62.
[8] West 1970: 511. The view is repeated in his article for the 3rd edition of the *OCD* (1996).
[9] Paley 1883: xxii. [10] Mahaffy 1891.

most famous student, Oscar Wilde, would have made the perfect translator of the miniature epic.[11]

On those occasions when the classicist does not choose to vent his disapproval of the style of the *Aspis*, the dismissal is done discreetly, with a charge of copying. Thus, T. W. Allen refers to 'the palpable imitation' of *Iliad* 18 by the *Aspis*.[12] Even Richard Janko lapses into the language of model and copy when it comes to this poem, claiming that it is one of a class of 'late' compositions that imitates a fixed text of the *Iliad*.[13] We shall return to this highly debatable notion later. The critical disparagement of the *Aspis* has deep roots in antiquity. Value judgements are entangled with questions of authenticity and authorship, when it comes to Homer versus Hesiod versus pseudo-Hesiod. Aristophanes of Byzantium, as we learn from the following ancient *hypothesis* to the *Aspis*, suspected that the poem was not by Hesiod but by an imitator of Homer. Others defended its authorship:

> The beginning of the *Shield* is in circulation (φέρεται) in the fourth book of the *Catalogue*, extending to line fifty-six.[14] And for this reason Aristophanes has suspected that it does not belong to Hesiod, but to someone else choosing to imitate (μιμήσασθαι) the Homeric shield. The Athenian Megakleides knows the poem to be genuine, but censures Hesiod; for he says it is illogical for Hephaestus to make armour for his mother's enemies. Apollonius of Rhodes in the third book says it belongs to him [Hesiod] both from its style (ἐκ τοῦ χαρακτῆρος) and from finding that Iolaos again acts as the charioteer for Herakles in the *Catalogue*. And Stesichorus too says that the poem is Hesiod's.[15]

Apparently, Aristophanes based his reasoning first on the assumption that Hesiod *did* compose the *Catalogue of Women*, and second that Hesiod would *not* repeat fifty-six of his own lines (contained in Book 4 of the *Catalogue*) in composing another poem, the *Aspis*. One of the few other ancients to voice an opinion about the poem is pseudo-Longinus (*De subl.* 9.5). Comparing the few lines from this poem about Akhlus, the mist of war-death, with the Homeric depiction of Eris (*Iliad* 4.442), he observes:

> Quite unlike this is Hesiod's description of Gloom (ἀχλύς), if indeed we are right in adding the *Shield* to the list of Hesiod's works: 'rheum from her nostrils was running' [*Aspis* 26]. He has not made the image terrible (δεινόν), but offensive (μισητόν).[16]

[11] Mahaffy greatly influenced the young Wilde, whom he escorted to Greece and Italy, cf. Ellmann 1987: 27–8, 55, 70.

[12] Allen 1924: 92; see Thalmann 1984: 64. [13] Janko 1986.

[14] For this technical sense of φέρεσθαι in reference to literary attestation (frequent in scholia), see LSJ, 9th ed., *s.v.* VIII.

[15] For the text cf. Solmsen 1983: 86. [16] Translation by Fyfe 1932: 145–7.

The critical attitude at this stage is not far from that of Friedrich Wolf, who undertook in 1817 to edit the *Aspis*, only to show, as he says, how in a few decades heroic verse had degenerated from the Homeric type.[17] Two more recent critics have resisted the usual line. Andrew Becker, in a sophisticated book on *ekphrasis*, devotes some pages to the complex self-reflexive character of the *Aspis*, its constant directing of our attention toward the indescribable and unspeakable qualities of the very things it describes and speaks of.[18] Robert Lamberton, in his general introduction to Hesiod, is not afraid to use 'parasitic' in a value-neutral sense when speaking of the *Aspis*. He also speaks of its 'outrageousness that is both satisfying and liberating', and brilliantly compares the poem to the art of Goya and to the Old Irish saga *Táin Bó Cúailnge*. Only Lamberton strikes one as actually liking this composition.[19]

Has the *Aspis* failed so disastrously, or have its interpreters? Could it be that terms like 'failure' applied to archaic Greek poetry are themselves problematic? Before examining the specific verses that provoke the hottest criticism in the *Aspis*, and trying to come up with a different critical idiom, we should draw back for a moment to recall the critics' criterion: Homer – as 'Longinus' makes explicit. But whose Homer? The aesthetics of the later critical tradition about epic are shaped by Aristotle. In the *Poetics*, he famously denigrated episodic narratives – for instance, poems united only because they dealt with Heracles – in favour of the μῦθος εἷς, the organic plot, of the Homeric epics.[20] While we can admire Aristotle's awareness of the uniqueness of Homer, we need not toss out the non-Homeric simply because it did not suit Aristotle's austere tastes.

Contemporary ethnophilology can broaden our scope. Study of heroic oral traditional literature in other cultures, whether Indic, Irish, West African, Central Asian or South Slavic, will easily show that the single episode, lasting a few hours in performance, and chosen by the singer to fit the mood and politics of his immediate audience, is the basis for live composition in performance.[21] Or in other words, the 480-line, single-episode *Aspis* looks much more like an oral poem than does the *Iliad*. Still, one may object, even if we restrain an Aristotelian appetite for the big-ticket organic epic, the *Aspis* does not satisfy. One can value the episodic and still find the *Aspis*, in its diction and structure, a mess – not to say, trash. I *want* to call it 'trash' but I shall employ the term (and its affiliate, pulp) in a different register, as the name of a heuristic device rather than as a term of abuse.

[17] On Wolf's edition cf. Ranke 1840: v. [18] Becker 1995: 36–40, a condensation of Becker 1992.
[19] Lamberton 1988: 138–44. [20] *Poetics* 1451a.
[21] On the episode as unit, see Blackburn et al. 1989: 11; Belcher 1999: 27, 51; Flueckiger 1999: 133–4.

My intent in employing the trash aesthetic is not to reverse the terms, to plump for pulp, or to subvert canons of taste (by now a quaint archaism). It is a more neutral aim, to analyse techniques and stylistic traits common to the creation of pulp and to the pseudo-Hesiodic verses. We could simply rest content with the amusing irony that it took the world two millennia and millions of Hollywood dollars to catch up with the aesthetic of the *Aspis*. But it is better if we look for a critical payoff. After an analysis of the categories of pulp technique that match the strategies of the *Aspis*, the payoff will emerge first in the way of an internal stylistic analysis and then in a complete re-evaluation of the part this poem plays in relation to the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*.[22]

We need to specify what characterises the pulp aesthetic. Clive Bloom in *Cult Fiction* offers a range of features.[23] First among them, interestingly, is episodic narration – as he notes, it is good for serialisation. Next, purposive, teleological movement in the plot is to be expected; so is a focus on outward appearances and an avoidance of psychologising action. Consistency of character is elevated over complex plot. Readers of pulp desire consistency, just as they constantly desire that a given narration will go the limit. Five modern genres can be said to operate by 'pulp' rules – science fiction; horror; private eye; western; and superhero. I would place the *Aspis* on the cusp of the latter two categories. The poem features a superhero Heracles, son of Zeus, who is depicted battling it out with a bad character, Cycnus, son of Ares, in a shoot-'em-up scene reminiscent of the showdown at the OK Corral. At the same time, the pictures on the shield of Heracles give us plenty of horror touches, including vampirism. The term episodic fits the *Aspis*, as we have already said; so does lack of psychological realism. Perhaps it requires a long poem like the *Iliad* to articulate inner character, and monumental composition of the Homeric type might thus represent a breakthrough for oral-poetic art. At any rate, it should be borne in mind that the practicalities of short episodic length probably account for several of the other pulp features.

Although the title Bloom chooses for his chapter on the rules of pulp is 'Living In Technicolor', his main concern is verbal narrative, not movies. Comic books are as close as he gets to the visual. They happen to crystallise the critical issues especially well, because public outrage in the 1950s led to the creation of a voluntary Comics Code, and, as Bloom points out, simply

[22] It may not be amiss to view the *Catalogue*, in movie terms, as the ultimate chick-flick from antiquity: on the female-directed framing of a cognate passage, the 'catalogue' in *Odyssey* 11, see Doherty 1991 and Martin 2001.

[23] Bloom 1996: 132–55.

reversing the proscriptions gives us a neat definition of pulp. The Code rules that 'all scenes of horror, excessive bloodshed, gory or gruesome crimes, depravity, lust, sadism or masochism shall not be permitted'.[24] Delete the negative and you have the recipe for a bestseller. For cinematic strategies equivalent to the pulp rules, I am taking into account the above-mentioned, all of which seem to apply to the *Aspis*. In addition, the following more technical features can be matched with passages from the poem.

First, *noise*. The trashier the movie, the louder it is. Fans of David Lynch's highly disturbed *Eraserhead* will recall the screech level. Merchant and Ivory films, by contrast, are as silent as the tomb; classic Bergman is near soundless. The *Aspis* on the other hand is loud: it has been calculated that sound words occur nearly twice as often in the pseudo-Hesiodic as in the Homeric shield.[25] Lines 57–65 are not untypical. They describe Heracles' discovery of Cycnus and his father Ares, standing in a chariot:

> ὃς καὶ Κύκνον ἔπεφνεν, Ἀρητιάδην μεγάθυμον.
> εὗρε γὰρ ἐν τεμένει ἑκατηβόλου Ἀπόλλωνος
> αὐτὸν καὶ πατέρα ὃν Ἄρη', ἄατον πολέμοιο,
> τεύχεσι λαμπομένους σέλας ὣς πυρὸς αἰθομένοιο, 60
> ἑσταότ' ἐν δίφρωι· χθόνα δ' ἔκτυπον ὠκέες ἵπποι
> νύσσοντες χηλῆισι, κόνις δέ σφ' ἀμφιδεδήει
> κοπτομένη πλεκτοῖσιν ὑφ' ἅρμασι καὶ ποσὶν ἵππων·
> ἅρματα δ' εὐποίητα καὶ ἄντυγες ἀμφαράβιζον
> ἵππων ἱεμένων. κεχάρητο δὲ Κύκνος ἀμύμων . . . 65

And he slew Cycnus, the gallant son of Ares. For he found him in the precinct of far-shooting Apollo, him and his father Ares, never sated with war. Their armour shone like a flame of blazing fire as they two stood in their chariot: their swift horses struck the earth and pawed it with their hoofs, and the dust rose like smoke about them, pounded by the chariot wheels and the horses' hoofs, while the well-made chariot and its rails rattled around them as the horses plunged. And blameless Cycnus was glad. . . .[26]

The staccato sounds of line 59 – αὐτὸν καὶ πατέρα ὃν Ἄρη', ἄατον πολέμοιο – provide a drumbeat. Light effects – flashing armour in the grove – are followed by horses beating the ground, scratching hooves, dust flying up, more beating (κοπτομένη v. 63) and then the rumble of the chariot wheels (ἀμφαράβιζον, v. 64), all of which occurs before anyone even thinks of fighting.

Noise surrounds the auditor of the *Aspis*. More often, it is coupled with spectacular sights and colours – the equivalent of animated special effects

[24] Bloom 1996: 142–3. [25] Picot 1998: 50 n. 13; see also Lamberton 1988: 142 on noise in the *Aspis*.
[26] Translations throughout are based on Evelyn-White 1914, with minor changes.

in film. Three passages might be adduced in this connection. The first (vv. 191–6) comes from the shield description:

> ἐν δ' Ἄρεος βλοσυροῖο ποδώκεες ἕστασαν ἵπποι
> χρύσεοι, ἐν δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐναρσφόρος οὔλιος Ἄρης,
> αἰχμὴν ἐν χείρεσσιν ἔχων, πρυλέεσσι κελεύων,
> αἵματι φοινικόεις ὡς εἰ ζωοὺς ἐναρίζων,
> δίφρου ἐπεμβεβαώς· παρὰ δὲ Δεῖμός τε Φόβος τε
> ἕστασαν ἱέμενοι πόλεμον καταδύμεναι ἀνδρῶν.

And on [the shield] stood the fleet-footed horses of grim Ares made of gold, and deadly Ares the spoil-winner himself. He held a spear in his hands and was urging on the footmen: he was red with blood as if he were slaying living men, and he stood in his chariot. Beside him stood Fear and Dread, eager to plunge amidst the fighting men.

Unlike the dynamic of the *Iliadic* shield's arming, we are not looking over the god's shoulder as he manufactures the inlays. This artifact is completed already, and the '*en*' phrases are static, not part of a larger phrase 'he made on it' (contrast e.g. *Il.* 18.483, 490). Even so, there is movement and colour. Fear and Dread stand straining to enter the fray. Ares is urging on the fighters, stepping onto the chariot. His golden horses contrast with the bloody god (αἵματι φοινικόεις, v. 194). If we imagine the polished shield as both depicting and reflecting, it is interesting that the same god is facing Heracles at this very moment, as if his picture has been caught on the lens of the shield surface.

The next two passages to contemplate are more complicated combinations of colour, or of colour and sound, featuring extensive synaesthesia. At v. 139, Heracles picks up the shield, described as 'all-glancing' (*panaiolon*). This initial appearance is then developed further in vv. 141–8:

> πᾶν μὲν γὰρ κύκλωι τιτάνωι λευκῶι τ' ἐλέφαντι
> ἠλέκτρωι θ' ὑπολαμπὲς ἔην χρυσῶι τε φαεινῶι
> λαμπόμενον, κυάνου δὲ διὰ πτύχες ἠλήλαντο.
> ἐν μέσσωι δ ἀδάμαντος ἔην Φόβος οὔ τι φατειός,
> ἔμπαλιν ὄσσοισιν πυρὶ λαμπομένοισι δεδορκώς·
> τοῦ καὶ ὀδόντων μὲν πλῆτο στόμα λευκαθεόντων,
> δεινῶν, ἀπλήτων, ἐπὶ δὲ βλοσυροῖο μετώπου
> δεινὴ Ἔρις πεπότητο κορύσσουσα κλόνον ἀνδρῶν . . .

For its whole orb shimmered with enamel and white ivory and electrum, and it glowed with shining gold; and there were zones of cyanus drawn upon it. In the centre was Fear worked in adamant, unspeakable, staring backwards with eyes that glowed with fire. His mouth was full of teeth in a white row, fearful and daunting, and upon his grim brow hovered frightful Strife who arrays the throng of men . . .

If we disregard Heyne's rejection of 143, we can add dark blue to the palette. Perhaps the reason he rejected the line, and Solmsen continues to bracket it in the Oxford text, is this very garishness. The lights come up, as Phobos, in the centre, looks back with fire-gleaming eyes. And then we are back to colours, with his white gleaming teeth (line 146). Strife is apparently floating above his face, described as βλοσυρός, an adjective of uncertain meaning, much beloved by the *Aspis* poet. The second passage (vv. 228–37) has even more of this effect:

αὐτὸς δὲ σπεύδοντι καὶ ἐρρίγοντι ἐοικὼς
Περσεὺς Δαναίδης ἐτιταίνετο· ταὶ δὲ μετ' αὐτὸν
Γόργονες ἄπλητοί τε καὶ οὐ φαταὶ ἐρρώοντο
ἰέμεναι μαπέειν· ἐπὶ δὲ χλωροῦ ἀδάμαντος
βαινουσέων ἰάχεσκε σάκος μεγάλωι ὀρυμαγδῶι
ὀξέα καὶ λιγέως· ἐπὶ δὲ ζώνηισι δράκοντε
δοιὼ ἀπηιωρεῦντ' ἐπικυρτώοντε κάρηνα·
λίχμαζον δ' ἄρα τώ γε, μένει δ' ἐχάρασσον ὀδόντας
ἄγρια δερκομένω· ἐπὶ δὲ δεινοῖσι καρήνοις
Γοργείοις ἐδονεῖτο μέγας φόβος.

Perseus himself, the son of Danae, was at full stretch, like one who hurries and shudders with horror. And after him rushed the Gorgons, unapproachable and unspeakable, longing to seize him; as they trod upon the pale adamant, the shield rang sharp and clear with a loud clanging. Two serpents hung down at their girdles with heads curved forward: their tongues were flickering, and their teeth gnashing with fury, and their eyes glaring fiercely. And upon the awful heads of the Gorgons great fear was quaking.

The scenery – Perseus chased by the Gorgons – was common in archaic art. This and other details led archaeologically minded critics, such as Myres and Cook, to date the *Aspis* to the sixth century BC.[27] I am more interested in the sound effects that tart up the action here. As they tread on the pale adamant of the shield, the pursuing Gorgons make the metal shriek and clang (233) sharp and shrill. We then get a visual moment (dual snakes dangling from their belts), followed by more noise: the snakes are sticking out their tongues (presumably hissing) and clashing their teeth. We are not meant to pause and ask whether snakes actually have teeth, since to an audience it does not matter – it is over the top, scary, and therefore great.[28]

[27] Cook 1937 and Myres 1941.

[28] Part of the project of trash aesthetics is 'taking audiences and their pleasures seriously': Cartmell et al. 1997: 1. The frequency of violent scenes, especially Gorgon-slaying, in sixth-century vase-painting should tell us something about tastes in poetry as well.

This passage, with its snakes in tight focus, shows us something of the effect of the camera dollying in. Extreme close-up is a staple of trash cinema, as it is of porn, a related genre. Knives, bullets, or other invasive instruments more tellingly hit a nerve the closer you see them. In the *Aspis*, the hero's body is never really glimpsed, sheathed as it is in various pieces of armament and armour. The constituents, however, are celebrated visually, in synecdochic homage to the hero within. One item gets an especially close camera shot (vv. 128–38):

θήκατο δ' ἀμφ' ὤμοισιν ἀρῆς ἀλκτῆρα σίδηρον,
δεινὸς ἀνήρ· κοίλην δὲ περὶ στήθεσσι φαρέτρην
κάββαλεν ἐξόπιθεν· πολλοὶ δ' ἔντοσθεν ὀιστοὶ
ῥιγηλοί, θανάτοιο λαθιφθόγγοιο δοτῆρες·
πρόσθεν μὲν θάνατόν τ' εἶχον καὶ δάκρυσι μῦρον,
μέσσοι δὲ ξεστοί, περιμήκεες, αὐτὰρ ὄπισθε
μόρφνοιο φλεγύαο καλυπτόμενοι πτερύγεσσιν.
εἴλετο δ' ὄβριμον ἔγχος, ἀκαχμένον αἴθοπι χαλκῶι.
κρατὶ δ' ἐπ' ἰφθίμωι κυνέην ἐύτυκτον ἔθηκε,
δαιδαλέην, ἀδάμαντος, ἐπὶ κροτάφοις ἀραρυῖαν,
ἥ τ' εἴρυτο κάρη Ἡρακλῆος θείοιο . . .

Over his shoulders the fierce warrior put the steel that saves men from doom, and across his breast he slung behind him a hollow quiver. Within it were many chilling arrows, dealers of death which makes speech forgotten: in front they had death, and trickled with tears; their shafts were smooth and very long; and their butts were covered with feathers of a brown eagle. And he took his strong spear, pointed with shining bronze, and on his valiant head set a well-made helm of adamant, cunningly wrought, which fitted closely on the temples; and that guarded the head of god-like Heracles . . .

The deadly arrows of Heracles are transformed into tripartite beasts, like Geryon or the Chimaera, at vv. 131ff. They bring the chill of doom; they are dealers of Death that makes one forget how to talk. The way in which the weapon, lovingly described in close-up, captures the essence of the killer Heracles, recalls such pulp classics as *The Maltese Falcon*. Compare the way in which the essence of Dashiell Hammet's hero is captured as he rolls tobacco:

Spade's thick fingers made a cigarette with deliberate care, sifting a measured quantity of tan flakes down into a curved paper, spreading the flakes so that they lay equal at the ends with a slight depression in the middle, thumbs rolling the paper's inner edge down and up under the outer edges as forefingers pressed it over, thumbs and fingers sliding to the paper cylinder's ends to hold it even while tongue licked the flap, left forefinger and thumb pinching their end while right forefinger

and thumb smoothed the damp seam, right forefinger and thumb twisting their end and lifting the other to Sam's mouth.[29]

Spade's cigarette may have more erotic potential than Heracles' arrows, but the extravagant desire of the camera for the object, the extreme close-up, is the same as in the *Aspis*. Slow motion is obtained both in Homeric narrative and in the *Aspis* by the device of the simile, which acts like a freeze-frame, pausing the action as the poet develops another, analogical argument to interpret the scene within the scene. One thinks of such trash effects as the use of split screens in Quentin Tarantino's *Jackie Brown* – itself a parodic use of the technique developed by B-grade movies and TV in the 1960s. What makes the *Aspis* different, trashier than the *Iliad*, is a matter of degree: the simile overload, the complexity and action of the similes themselves, and the subsequent time-lag this brings about. Consider vv. 374–92:

ὡς δ' ὅτ' ἀφ' ὑψηλῆς κορυφῆς ὄρεος μεγάλοιο
πέτραι ἀποθρώσκωσιν, ἐπ' ἀλλήλαις δὲ πέσωσι,
πολλαὶ δὲ δρῦς ὑψίκομοι, πολλαὶ δέ τε πεῦκαι
αἴγειροί τε τανύρριζοι ῥήγνυνται ὑπ' αὐτέων
ῥίμφα κυλινδομένων, ἧος πεδίονδ' ἀφίκωνται,
ὣς οἳ ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι πέσον μέγα κεκλήγοντες.
πᾶσα δὲ Μυρμιδόνων τε πόλις κλειτή τ' Ἰαωλκὸς
Ἄρνη τ' ἠδ' Ἑλίκη Ἄνθειά τε ποιήεσσα
φωνῇ ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων μεγάλ' ἴαχον· οἳ δ' ἀλαλητῷι
θεσπεσίωι σύνισαν· μέγα δ' ἔκτυπε μητίετα Ζεύς,
κὰδ δ' ἄρ' ἀπ' οὐρανόθεν ψιάδας βάλεν αἱματοέσσας,
σῆμα τιθεὶς πολέμοιο ἑῶι μεγαθαρσέι παιδί.
οἷος δ' ἐν βήσσηις ὄρεος χαλεπὸς προιδέσθαι
κάπρος χαυλιόδων φρονέει θυμῶι μαχέσασθαι
ἀνδράσι θηρευτῆις, θήγει δέ τε λευκὸν ὀδόντα
δοχμωθείς, ἀφρὸς δὲ περὶ στόμα μαστιχόωντι
λείβεται, ὄσσε δέ οἱ πυρὶ λαμπετόωντι ἔικτον,
ὀρθὰς δ' ἐν λοφιῆι φρίσσει τρίχας ἀμφί τε δειρήν·
τῶι ἴκελος Διὸς υἱὸς ἀφ' ἵππείου θόρε δίφρου.

As when rocks leap forth from the high peak of a great mountain, and fall on one another, and many towering oaks and pines and long-rooted poplars are broken by them as they whirl swiftly down until they reach the plain; so did they fall on one another with a great shout: and all the town of the Myrmidons, and famous Iolcus, and Arne, and Helice, and grassy Anthea echoed loudly at the voice of the two. With an awful cry they closed: and wise Zeus thundered loudly and rained down drops of blood, giving the signal for battle to his dauntless son. As a tusked

[29] Cited in Bloom 1996: 223–34.

boar, fearful for a man to see before him in the glens of a mountain, resolves to fight with the huntsmen and whets his white tusks, turning sideways, while foam flows all round his mouth as he gnashes, and his eyes are like glowing fire, and he bristles the hair on his mane and around his neck – like him the son of Zeus leaped from his horse chariot.

Cycnus and Heracles have just dismounted – their charioteers drive the horses off, with obligatory sound effect. The heroes are about to go to it, when a simile intervenes: just as when rocks leap from a high peak, and fall on one another, and no fewer than three varieties of trees are crushed as these boulders rumble down the hill to the plain – such is the way the men fell on one another (with a scream, for good measure). It takes a long time for those rocks to drop. The sound resounds, introducing in artful fashion various place names, all the towns that reverberate to the spreading noise.[30] Two more noises (a war cry and Zeus's thunder) delay the clash even more – the enemies still have not engaged, as far as we hear. And then a meteorological *tour de force*, bloody rain: not, as in the *Iliad*, to mourn a hero's imminent death, but a sign from Zeus that his son is going to win.[31] We still have not arrived at the first punch, when a second simile takes over: the gnashing, bristling, foaming boar. Like many other 'real' parts of the combat, this finds its analogue on the shield – recall the image of white-toothed, flaming-eyed Phobos. A glance at the further text of this passage reveals that nine lines of seasonal description (setting the time of this combat) and two more similes, of eleven lines in total, are yet to come. Only then does Cycnus make the first spear-cast. This is not incompetence on the part of the poet, but simply a different aesthetic, privileging obvious manipulation and suspense, the sort of sustained slow motion that commands the viewer to look while it refuses to reward the gaze. Striptease may be the apt trash analogy.

Overblown or awkward dialogue is often a component of pulp, as it is of the *Aspis*. This is a consequence of the mode's overriding orientation toward action. One speech that seems out of all proportion contains the words of Iolaos to Heracles at vv. 103–14. In a run-on fashion, with everything mentioned in pairs, the younger hero says: 'Good friend, indeed the father of men and gods honours your head, as does bull-like Earth Shaker, he who holds the veils of Thebe and protects the city. Such a mortal as this tough and big, are they leading into our hands, so you can win fine *kleos*.' He urges Heracles to arm and concludes that 'Ares shall not frighten the

[30] The technique (following a sound in order to further a narrative) resembles that of the 'shouting in prison' theme of South Slavic epic, cf. Foley 1990: 288–327.

[31] Contrast *Il.* 16.459 and cf. the *Aspis* scholiast's comment in Ranke 1840 *ad loc*.

unshakeable son of Zeus or make the son of Iphiclus run away. I think he is the one who will flee the two sons of the blameless son of Alcaeus, who are close upon him eager for war, and combat which is dearer to them than a banquet.' This is probably not characterisation by style – the younger warrior spouting whatever comes into his head – but rather the poet loading on every cliché he can come up with. Pulp likes to spell things out: important scene coming up.

If the modern examples so far seem common, and the *Aspis* examples unexceptional or hackneyed, perhaps it is precisely because we are awash in pulp, which has become the default mode. Sexploitation, blaxploitation – even now, in Italian film, nunsploitation – all overwhelm the sensibilities. Yet they are just the logical endpoint of a marked tendency within the medium. As Doris Wishman, the director who brought us *Nude on the Moon* and *Bad Girls Go To Hell* once said, 'Let me tell you something – all movies are exploitation movies.'[32] Saturation raises the ante – the next trash movie will have to be that much trashier. Tarantino goes from *Reservoir Dogs* to *Pulp Fiction* to *Four Rooms* – quite conscious that his audience dares him to do the next bad thing.[33] One suspects ancient epic audiences experienced the same proliferation. For every Kurosawa – the best directorial analogue for the Homeric poet – there were a dozen would-be Doris Wishmans, composing *Aspis*-like combats for a hungry crowd.[34]

Pulp poetics depends on a simple overriding rule: more is more. When we turn finally to the category of excess and some illustrative passages, it may seem redundant to speak of this principle. After all, the entire *Aspis* is excessive, and that is essentially what makes it distinct from Homeric epic. I would, however, like to articulate a bit further how this poem makes itself more. The technique involves both the accumulation of detail and the type of detail piled on. There is a crescendo effect, apparently: a sort of *Gesetz der wächsenden Schrecklichkeit*. At the level of verse and phrase, the accumulating details are detachable. That is, they most often are loosely connected syntactically, added subjects or noun modifiers unnecessarily

[32] Quoted in Mendik and Harper 2000: 157.

[33] Tarantino, quoted in Woods 1996: 108, about the possibility of making further spin-offs of *Pulp Fiction*: 'I like the idea that I'm taking a genre that already exists and reinventing it, like Leone re-invented the whole Western genre. I think I've taken on an established genre like the pulp thriller and made it challenging to myself *and to my audience*' (emphasis mine).

[34] Acting in unison are the sophistication of a trash-conscious audience, a steady rate of consumption and production, and a high degree of formulaic construction and thus expectation. Worth re-examining from this sociopoetic perspective is Roger Corman's series *The Student Nurses* (1970), *Private Duty Nurses* (1972), *Night Call Nurses* (1972), *The Young Nurses* (1973), and *Candy Stripe Nurses* (1974), on which see McGee 1988: 83.

enjambed or strung along in *lexis eiromenê*. Finally, the heaping up of detail has its own rhythm. Most favoured is the triplet, or triplets within triplets. Consider lines 149–67:[35]

σχετλίη, ἥ ῥα νόον τε καὶ ἐκ φρένας εἵλετο φωτῶν
οἵτινες ἀντιβίην πόλεμον Διὸς υἷι φέροιεν.
τῶν καὶ ψυχαὶ μὲν χθόνα δύνουσ' Ἄιδος εἴσω
αὐτῶν, ὀστέα δέ σφι περὶ ῥινοῖο σαπείσης
Σειρίου ἀζαλέοιο κελαινῇι πύθεται αἴηι.
ἐν δὲ Προίωξίς τε Παλίωξίς τε τέτυκτο,
ἐν δ' Ὁμαδός τε Φόνος τ' Ἀνδροκτασίη τε δεδήει,
ἐν δ' Ἔρις, ἐν δὲ Κυδοιμὸς ἐθύνεον, ἐν δ' ὀλοὴ Κὴρ
ἄλλον ζωὸν ἔχουσα νεούτατον, ἄλλον ἄουτον,
ἄλλον τεθνηῶτα κατὰ μόθον ἕλκε ποδοῖιν·
εἶμα δ' ἔχ' ἀμφ' ὤμοισι δαφοινεὸν αἵματι φωτῶν,
δεινὸν δερκομένη καναχῆισί τε βεβρυχυῖα.
ἐν δ' ὀφίων κεφαλαὶ δεινῶν ἔσαν, οὔ τι φατειῶν,
δώδεκα, ταὶ φοβέεσκον ἐπὶ χθονὶ φῦλ' ἀνθρώπων
οἵτινες ἀντιβίην πόλεμον Διὸς υἷι φέροιεν.
τῶν καὶ ὀδόντων μὲν καναχὴ πέλεν, εὖτε μάχοιτο
Ἀμφιτρυωνιάδης· τὰ δ' ἐδαίετο θαυματὰ ἔργα·
στίγματα δ' ὣς ἐπέφαντο ἰδεῖν δεινοῖσι δράκουσι·
κυάνεοι κατὰ νῶτα, μελάνθησαν δὲ γένεια.

Pitiless she, for she took away the mind and senses of poor wretches who made war against the son of Zeus. Their souls passed beneath the earth and went down into the house of Hades; but their bones, when the skin is rotted about them, crumble away on the dark earth under parching Sirius. Upon the shield Pursuit and Flight were wrought, and Tumult, and Panic, and Slaughter. Strife also, and Uproar were hurrying about, and deadly Fate was there holding one man newly wounded, and another unwounded; and one, who was dead, she was dragging by the feet through the tumult. She had on her shoulders a garment red with the blood of men, and terribly she glared and gnashed her teeth. And there were heads of snakes unspeakably frightful, twelve of them; and they used to frighten the tribes of men on earth who made war against the son of Zeus; for they would clash their teeth when Amphitryon's son was fighting: and brightly shone these wonderful works. And it was as though there were spots upon the frightful snakes; they were dark blue on their backs, but their jaws were black.

This section picks up after the description of Strife (see above). 'Hard to deal with, that one; whosoever makes war with the son of Zeus, she takes their mind away.' The *Aspis* poet is nothing if not methodical. So much

[35] The juicier pulpy excess in Solmsen's *Oxford Classical Text* of the poem is often found within brackets, iconic for the chaste editor's hands blinkering his eyes at the scarier parts of the movie.

for the enemy mind; now what about their bodies and souls? A *men/de* does it: the souls go under the earth, while the bones, when the skin rots around them, putrefy on the black earth with Sirius parching them. That gives us the whole picture. It may seem too much that, next, alongside Pursuit and Flight, we have Hubbub, Murder and Manslaughter. Editors desperately hit the delete key when, in lines 156, Strife, Moil, and Fate join this fray. But look at the architecture before you take out the airbrush. Lines 154–6 (unbracket the last) make a nice triple crescendo: ἐν + τε + τε (two items); then ἐν + τε + τε + τε (three items); then ἐν + ἐν + ἐν, three items, and an adjective for good measure. This triplet trips another wire. *Kêr* has three victims, nicely arranged in waxing style (157–8). And a third triplet completes the set of three. For Fate wears a bloody garment (159), glares terribly (160) and is gnashing her teeth (160) – as most beings in this poem eventually do (compare the twelve blue-black unspeakable serpents in lines 164, who gnash whenever Heracles works out). Enough with excess, you may say. But as more is more in this poem, so there is more to say. The following passage would make the perfect box-office poster, were the *Aspis* a movie. By now, we are used to the blue Fates with white teeth and βλοσυροί foreheads. We yawn, perhaps, as they do battle to suck the blood of the newly fallen (250ff.), clamp corpses in their claws, and toss back the bodies when they have sated themselves with gore. The female-wrestling match among Klôthô and her sisters should definitely remain in our texts.[36] And then arrives the poster child, Akhlus, the internal audience for all these shenanigans (264ff.). Terrible, mournful, pale, shrivelled and reduced by hunger, with swollen knees and long fingernails, she is the ideal Boogy Woman. From her drip snot, blood, and tears (another triplet) which mingle with the dust on her shoulders – about as good as it gets.

Where does all this observation ultimately lead us? It hardly takes talent to perceive that the *Aspis* is, by most people's standards, gross and overwritten. Can the trash aesthetic as delineated and illustrated here help us to resolve weightier questions of composition and literary history? I would argue that it can, in fact, ease, if not resolve, long-standing dilemmas posed by the poem, both internal and external. The internal first. Wilamowitz first systematically analysed what he called 'dittography' in this poem. He drew attention to the recurrent phenomenon visible, for example, in lines 282–3 within the following passage:

[36] An inversion of *Vampirella* (1996), one of the brilliant Roger Corman's more than 500 productions: on his horror/parody aesthetic see Corman 1990 and McGee 1988.

αἳ δ᾽ ὑπὸ φορμίγγων ἄναγον χορὸν ἱμερόεντα. 280
ἔνθεν δ᾽ αὖθ᾽ ἑτέρωθε νέοι κώμαζον ὑπ᾽ αὐλοῦ.
τοί γε μὲν αὖ παίζοντες ὑπ᾽ ὀρχηθμῶι καὶ ἀοιδῆι,
τοί γε μὲν αὖ γελόωντες ὑπ᾽ αὐλητῆρι ἕκαστος
πρόσθ᾽ ἔκιον· πᾶσαν δὲ πόλιν θαλίαι τε χοροί τε
ἀγλαίαι τ᾽ εἶχον.

And the girls led on the lovely dance to the sound of lyres. Then again on the other side was a rout of young men revelling, with flutes playing; some frolicking with dance and song, and others were going forward in time with a flute player and laughing. The whole town was filled with mirth and dance and festivity.

What produced these apparently interchangeable lines? According to Wilamowitz, they arose from variation originating in different rhapsodic performances of the poem.[37] In other words, the texts of the *Aspis* that reached the Alexandrians were texts produced or used by professional reciters. Richard Janko, eighty years later, flirted with a similar conclusion about this poem, but he has shied away from this finding when it comes to the text of Homer.[38] And yet it should be remembered that Aristophanes of Byzantium employed a critical sign to indicate interchangeable consecutive lines within Homer, showing us that what appears to be exactly the same phenomenon was once detectable there as well.[39] Speaking of the *Aspis*, Janko, wedded to a notion of rigidly fixed texts and relying on the methodology of his Cambridge dissertation, calls this 'rhapsodic interpolation', a phrase that would suggest a rather different phenomenon. Janko's term assumes a fixed text of the *Aspis* (and in fact, he dates the poem on historical grounds quite precisely to the years between 591 and 570 BC).[40] Furthermore, it postulates the existence of rhapsodes who possess and then wish to tinker with that text.

A simpler, and I believe more plausible, treatment of this situation can start from a consideration of the other rough spots of alleged 'dittography'. Wilamowitz's model would posit a redactor attempting for some reason to

[37] Wilamowitz 1905: 122: 'Was nach Alexandreia kam, also Handschriften des 4. Jahrhunderts, waren Rhapsodenexemplare.'

[38] Janko 1986: 39–40. This is not the place to enter the debate on the importance, in the case of variant readings, of the rhapsodic heritage underlying the Homeric texts: for opposed viewpoints, see Janko 1998 and Nagy 1998. I point out, however, that the *Aspis* evidence has not previously been employed in the discussion. An interpretation along the lines sketched by Wilamowitz, with the modifications I offer, adds further weight to the plausible arguments of Nagy.

[39] Pfeiffer 1968: 178.

[40] Janko 1986. On his methodology, see Taplin 1992: 33 n. 39. The statistical arguments for dating based on the attestation of certain 'late' morphological features fail to take into account repeated elements of diction. Furthermore, there is no criterion for distinguishing 'false' archaisms from authentic ones.

record alternate versions of the text. Janko's interpolation theory is an even more text-oriented way of putting the same case. But what is remarkable about these so-called doublets is that only one of the several pairs simply cannot make sense as they stand; with lines 282–3, one has to choose one verse over the other. The other doublets reflect an attempt by somebody, apparently a person knowledgeable about traditional diction, to stitch lines together. Take, for example, the description of the harbour on the shield at lines 207–15:

ἐν δὲ λιμὴν εὔορμος ἁμαιμακέτοιο θαλάσσης
κυκλοτερὴς ἐτέτυκτο πανέφθου κασσιτέροιο
κλυζομένωι ἴκελος· πολλοί γε μὲν ἄμ μέσον αὐτοῦ
δελφῖνες τῆι καὶ τῆι ἐθύνεον ἰχθυάοντες 210
νηχομένοις ἴκελοι· δοιὼ δ' ἀναφυσιόωντες
ἀργύρεοι δελφῖνες ἐφοίβεον ἔλλοπας ἰχθῦς.
τῶν δ' ὕπο χάλκεοι τρέον ἰχθύες· αὐτὰρ ἐπ' ἀκτῆς
ἧστο ἀνὴρ ἁλιεὺς δεδοκημένος, εἶχε δὲ χερσὶν
ἰχθύσιν ἀμφίβληστρον ἀπορρίψοντι ἐοικώς. 215

And on the shield was a harbor with a safe haven from the irresistible sea, made of refined tin wrought in a circle, and it seemed to heave with waves. In the middle of it were many dolphins rushing this way and that, fishing: and they seemed to be swimming. Two dolphins of silver were spouting and devouring the mute fishes. And beneath them fishes of bronze were trembling. And on the shore sat a fisherman watching: in his hands he held a casting net for fish, and seemed as if about to cast it forth.

There is nothing syntactically offensive about the curving harbour, made of tin, with its swell of waves. Dolphins, like swimmers, sport in it. Lines 209–11 have been bracketed as too close in meaning to 211–12. But the technique of this poet calls for close-up shots, as we have seen: thus, the latter lines focus us on two dolphins, who spout off and chase the fish. Another camera shift (v. 213) tracks the fish as they dart off in fear. Finally, the camera pulls back to show us a fisherman, playing the role of internal audience for this scene (as was Akhlus in her scene), just as he is about to do his own fish-catching. This, and other such passages (e.g. 203–5; 293–5), may be neither smooth nor elegant, but do reward efforts to understand them. If we are willing to make such efforts for Aeschylus, Stesichorus and Apollonius, whose styles all engage the same 'pulp' mode on occasion, then we should give the *Aspis* the benefit of the doubt.[41] The key to a sympathetic understanding is to admit that the composer of the *Aspis* wanted at every

[41] It is not accidental that ancient traditions associated Hesiod and Stesichorus, even to the point of naming the latter a son of Hesiod: see Mazon 1928: xiii.

turn to make a bigger, more detailed, often gorier, usually livelier poem. And if that meant hauling out his best lines and puffing them up with good lines from other rhapsodes he had heard, all the better: no expansion is too bad to venture.[42] If trash demands it, live performance encourages it. A glance at run-of-the-mill epics, episodic and oral, as transcribed from live performance, can illustrate exactly the same 'mistakes' that occur when a singer or reciter takes risks and plays up a theme, sometimes to excess, for an eager audience. The virtuosos of a tradition, whether Indic Ram recitations, Egyptian Hilali epic, or the Sunjata of West Africa, think well on their feet and can telescope as well as expand. For the majority of oral bards, however, expansion is the easier option.[43] A cognate Greek illustration can be found in a so-called 'wild' papyrus (PBerol. 9771, first century BC) featuring the *ekphrasis* of Achilles' shield in the *Iliad*.[44] Allen and West print these 'plus' lines, not attested in the mainstream manuscript tradition, in the apparatus as *Iliad* 18.608a–d:

ἐν δὲ λιμὴν ἐτέτυκ[το] ἐανοῦ κασσιτέρ[οιο]
κλυζ[ομ]ένωι ἴκ[ελ]ος δοιὼ δ' ἀναφυσιόω[ντες]
ἀργύ[ρεοι] δελφῖνε[ς ἐ]φοίνεον ἔλλοπας [ἰχθῦς]
τοῦ δ' [ὕπ]ο χάλκε[ιοι τρέον ἰ]χθύες α[ὐ]τὰ[ρ ἐπ' ἀκταις]

And on the shield was a harbor made of refined tin and it seemed to heave with waves. Two dolphins of silver were spouting and killing the mute fishes. And beneath this fishes of bronze were trembling. And on the shores . . .

When we compare them with the *Aspis*, lines 207–13, the following pattern emerges (bold-faced phrases showing matches between the lines, italicised bold showing near matches):

ἐν δὲ λιμὴν εὔορμος ἁμαιμακέτοιο θαλάσσης
κυκλοτερὴς **ἐτέτυκτο** πανέφθου **κασσιτέροιο**
κλυζομένωι ἴκελος· πολλοί γε μὲν ἂμ μέσον αὐτοῦ
δελφῖνες τῆι καὶ τῆι ἐθύνεον ἰχθυάοντες 210
νηχομένοις ἴκελοι· **δοιὼ δ' ἀναφυσιόωντες**
ἀργύρεοι δελφῖνες ἐφοίβεον ἔλλοπας ἰχθῦς.
τῶν δ' ὕπο χάλκεοι τρέον ἰχθύες· αὐτὰρ ἐπ' *ἀκτῆς* κτλ.

[42] On the expansion aesthetic as operating in the *Iliad*, see Martin 1989. The difference with the *Aspis* once again is merely quantitative.

[43] For examples of such 'mistakes' that reflect convergence of themes in the poet's memory, see Lord 2000: 94–5 and 1991: 29; on metrical 'errors' as indicating thematic or formulaic seams, see Foley 1999: 72–4.

[44] For the most recent analysis of the papyrus, see Natalucci 2000, who considers it a valid representative of a once fuller, pre-Aristarchan version of the *Iliad* scene, and not a product of cross-interpolation.

And on the shield was a harbour with a safe haven from the irresistible sea, **made of** refined **tin** wrought in a circle, **and it seemed to heave with waves**. In the middle of it were many ***dolphins*** rushing this way and that, fishing: and they seemed to be swimming. **Two dolphins of silver were spouting and devouring the mute fishes. And beneath them fishes of bronze were trembling. And on the *shore*** . . .

From the point of view of the *Aspis*, the *Iliad* plus-verses – albeit already an 'expansion' on the commonly attested way of narrating the Achilles shield scene – have telescoped an even longer way of narrating. Vice versa, we could say that the *Aspis* version expands on an already 'expansive' version of the *Iliad* scene. Doubters and 'scripsists' will say that this is proof the brackets at lines 209–11 belong where they are, that those verses are 'interpolated', since the *Iliad* papyrus at line 608b seems to combine the equivalent of *Aspis* 209 (first segment) with line 211 (final segment).[45] Yet this is to make the hazardous assumption that the *Aspis* is copying a specific text of the *Iliad*, and yet doing so from a perspective that took account of a para-Iliadic tradition at the same time as it expatiated on the 'text'. If one maintains a more flexible (and ethnographically more plausible) hermeneutic, the two passages in question are simply big and small variants of the same theme, subjected to the sort of free-wheeling expansion or telescoping typical of live performance.[46] The point is that the *Aspis*, in such a situation, will always choose to go large.

Now we can turn to the question most relevant to broader literary history: just who was this composer of an always-over-the-top *Aspis*? I would risk asserting that it was the same person who composed the *Catalogue of Women*, and not just the individual *ehoie* about Alcmene, which, according to the *hypothesis*, contained the first fifty-six lines of the *Aspis*, but the entire poem. My suggestion is built on four kinds of evidence, which I shall conclude by explaining.

[45] On 'scripsists', see Taplin 1992: 35–7. Revermann 1998, for example, wants to see the plus-verses in the *Iliad* at this point as 'a peculiar interpolation of a condensed version' of the *Aspis* verses. He leaves open the possibility that the *Iliad* lines are due to 'rhapsodic intervention and amplification', yet it is clear from his further remarks that he has in mind a textual phenomenon, in which individual rhapsodes are mere conduits allowing verses to leach from one *recorded* poem into another. Orality, in this model, is incidental. By way of contrast, I propose that what we see in the *Aspis* and *Iliad* overlap is much messier and closer to a true recomposition-in-performance. The poet whose work made its way into the Berlin papyrus has produced a different way of ornamenting the scene, which happens to bear a family resemblance to the *Aspis*. But as we can see, the lines do not present a simple transposition of pre-existing *Aspis* lines inserted into a pre-existing Iliad. For performer and audience, the version of P 51 is plausible, traditional in diction, and interesting.

[46] Lord 2000: 99–123 first traced this in South Slavic heroic poetry. A number of subsequent studies have reported the same phenomenon.

First, there is the evidence of separability. By this, I mean the scattered remarks indicating how portions of hexameter verse that we moderns may consider organic in a poem were once treated by some ancient scholars as detachable. The A-scholia to *Iliad* 18.39–49 record that Zenodotus first athetised the description of the Nereid chorus because it had a 'Hesiodic *kharaktêr*'. (Recall that the *kharaktêr* of the *Aspis* was cited by Apollonius Rhodius, according to the *hypothesis*, in his defence of its attribution to Hesiod.) Two points of interest arise from this brief notice: that Alexandrian connoisseurs thought themselves capable of detecting stylistic differences within hexameter poetry, and based their decisions about authorship on this; and that they did not feel bound by other considerations of structure or artistry when they suggested that certain lines did not belong in a poem. Note that this is far different from claiming that Zenodotus and his successors were proto-Analysts in any way. For their decisions about such atheteses, as far we can track them through the evidence of scholia, appear to have been shaped with a keen appreciation of the *types* of passage or scene which could contain such 'other' material. This is to say that the connoisseurs (poets, critics and often poet-critics) carried with them a native sense of where one might expand or contract, a sense equal to – perhaps directly derived from – rhapsodic performers themselves.[47] In the case of separability, therefore, we should treat the intuition of Zenodotus with some respect. In this connection, it is highly significant that the same critic athetised the entire *Shield of Achilles* from the *Iliad* (A-scholia *ad Il.* 18.483), as he was satisfied with 'the summary preface' (κεφαλαιώδης προέκθεσις) – apparently lines 18.478–82, which mention that Hephaestus made a stout shield and decorated it with δαίδαλα πολλά. We do not know whether the two scholia just cited should be harmonised – that is, whether Zenodotus athetised the *Iliad* shield *because it too was Hesiodic*. But even if that was not his motive, it remains clear that an Alexandrian could treat a long shield description as separable from its surrounding context.

This brings us to the second category of evidence, the creative habits of rhapsodes. What, after all, would one have done with a separable *Shield of Achilles*? Martin Revermann, in an article on the textual transmission of that *Iliad* passage, suggests that the Iliadic shield may in fact have been used for separate recitation in performance, as a show-piece or an encore.[48] Though he does not refer to them, the practice of performing such an individual

[47] On the possible interaction between rhapsodes and critic-poets, see Hunter 1996: 50–2.
[48] Revermann 1998.

episode is well-attested in other oral poetic traditions.[49] The *Certamen* of Homer and Hesiod presents the two battling bards 'self-segmenting', as it were, their own poetry, in the interest of pleasing an audience and judge.[50] The much-controverted evidence concerning the performance of Homer at the Panathenaia can show us at least this much, that no one rhapsode ever recited an entire poem.[51] By definition, then, rhapsodes delivered time-constrained segments. These could either be rounded off, or allowed to dangle with a loose thread, which a succeeding rhapsode might then pick up to stitch the foregoing to his own performance. At any rate, a shield description like that in the *Aspis* or *Iliad* would seem to be the right length for live performance.[52]

Whatever one's aesthetic judgement on the relative value of the two shield *ekphraseis*, it seems highly likely that the *Iliad* poet has simply expanded his or her already massive performance by embedding this traditional, separable subgenre. The shield of Heracles is much more functional in its episode than is that of Achilles. One can easily imagine there being in the repertoire of the rhapsodes a class of such expansions; the genius of the Homeric composers is to vacuum up the subgenres that naturally occur on their own in the oral poetic surroundings, and put them to new and pointed use. I have argued elsewhere that this is precisely what happens in the case of the 'catalogue of women' in *Odyssey* Book 11, or with the genre of speaking to be identified as Instruction of Princes in both the *Odyssey* and the *Theogony*.[53] What this means, once again, is that the Hesiodic *Aspis* stands a good chance of being an authentic continuator of an older way of performing. On the larger scale, I would assert that what we call Hesiodic poetry is – like the epic cycle and Orphic poetry as well – the unmarked remnant of rhapsodic repertoires. After the rise of Homer as epic *par excellence*, anything non-Homeric could well have been homogenised, in opposition to the marked poetic category, as 'Hesiodic'. Of course, as G. P. Edwards and others have shown, the verse itself has every claim to be as old or older than the Homeric poems as we have them.[54] The structures of motif, plot, and even diction can be best viewed as that material which the homogenising Homeric composers had

[49] This can apply either to segmenting of plot elements or to long runs of description. On Indic, see Flueckiger 1999. One can find parallels from Mongol, Kirghiz, Egyptian, and West African epics; from my fieldwork in Sphakia and Selinos, Crete in 1996 and 2002, I can attest to the practice of segmenting the *Erotokritos* and *Daskaloyiannis* epics.

[50] See now for a sophisticated evaluation of this work Graziosi 2002. For the techniques employed in the *Certamen* and their relation to verse-composition patterns, see Collins 2001.

[51] On the interpretation of the evidence for sequenced recitation, see Nagy 2002: 9–22, 43–50.

[52] Homeric 'books' could also fit a convenient one–three-hour performance slot: on the interrelations of book division, performance, and textual transmission, see the debate in Skafte Jensen 1999.

[53] Martin 1984 and 2001. [54] Edwards 1971; Nagy 1990a.

to work with. Not by accident is *Homêros* the 'fitter-together'.[55] The *Aspis*, by these terms, is most likely akin to the Iliadic shield not as an inferior copy to a superior model, but as two instantiations of a *tour de force* that rhapsodes could choose to do in performance: the 'extended armament -*ekphrasis*'. I now want to propose that the strategy of expanding by means of a shield *ekphrasis* is not just what we see in our version of the *Iliad*. It is exactly what is happening in our version of the *Catalogue of Women* attributed to Hesiod. In other words, I want to suggest that the *Aspis* was a part of the *Catalogue* just as much (and as separably) as Achilles' shield was within the *Iliad*.

Of course, there is no positive proof in the way of manuscript evidence. But there is no real negative proof either. The Oxyrhynchus finds edited by Lobel (fr. 195) do not support a claim either way. They simply confirm a part of what the transmitted *hypothesis* says.[56] Most critics have automatically assumed that the *Aspis* was composed by some poetaster, who copied or borrowed the Alcmene biography in the *Catalogue* and clumsily pegged onto this the story of Heracles' fight against Cycnus.[57] Wilamowitz was the only critic willing to see the situation the other way round: he thought that a separate *Aspis* poet inserted his poem *into* the *Catalogue* (a view which West has tried to rebut, to my mind unsuccessfully).[58] To my knowledge, no one has suggested that the *Aspis* and *Catalogue* composers were one and the same. An immediate objection might be the following: if the *Aspis* was as integral to the *Catalogue* as the shield to the *Iliad*, why do we have ancient references to them as separate? My response is that one can refer to a portion of any epic by its own episode-name. Thus, in the *Iliad*, we get the *Peira*, the *Teikhoskopia*, or – for the shield – the *Hoplopoiia*. In this light, the *Aspis* would be what rhapsodes and their near relations, the critics, called that part of the *Catalogue* where one went all out and did a 400-line riff. Then again, there is the role of Zenodotus. Why did his successor

[55] Nagy 1990b: 373. The creation (probably in rhapsodic lore) of Homer and Hesiod as two primeval poetic figures accords with later critical practice, whereby what was not by one had to be by the other. It worked both ways: Aristarchus (like Zenodotus, it seems) condemned as un-Homeric any passages he suspected of having a Hesiodic character: see Pfeiffer 1968: 220.

[56] Glenn Most, pointing to the specification in the *hypothesis* that the first fifty-six lines of the *Aspis* were in the *Catalogue*, argued in the Cambridge seminar that the remainder of the *Aspis* as we have it therefore could *not* have been in the poem. More cautiously, we might say that a version of the *Catalogue* as known to the composer of the *hypothesis* writer only featured part of the *Aspis*. What was said above concerning telescoping and expansion applies here as well: just as some *Iliad* copies omitted the Catalogue of Ships – and might have copied performance habits in so doing – some instances of the *Catalogue of Women* may have featured an extended, others a shortened *Aspis*.

[57] Allen 1924: 79 for example, who says 'the *Aspis* has no allusion to determine the date of the *Catalogue* (from which its first portion was taken)'.

[58] Wilamowitz 1905; Merkelbach–West 1965: 300 n. 3.

Aristophanes of Byzantium need to worry about whether the *Aspis* was or was not 'Hesiodic', unless earlier scholars had brought up the issue? If the earlier critic Zenodotus decided, as he did with the Iliadic shield, that the *Catalogue* version, too, was separable, the tradition of treating the *Aspis* as a free-standing composition could have begun just before the time of Aristophanes.

Now the problem will be to show how the poetry of the *Aspis* is like the rest of the *Catalogue*, and therefore could have fitted inside it. Here, my third category of evidence comes into play, that with which I began this paper – the trash aesthetic and its preferences in theme and structure. (The dating of the two pieces, by the way, is not a problem, since critics have independently placed the *Catalogue* and the *Aspis* in exactly the same decades, the first quarter of the sixth century BC, on the basis of historical and genealogical details, including traces of Delphic propaganda).[59] West, who provides good arguments for the *Catalogue* dating, is also the one to whom we can turn for support in the notion that the whole composition must have been a rather pulpy poem. Each of its five books seems to have comprised around 1,100 verses. And – given its mythic material – the poem's narration will have included, at the very least, a god-defier (Salmoneus), Siamese twins, at least two shape-shifters (one of whom, in bee-form, gets nailed by Heracles in classic B-movie fashion just when he alights on a chariot-yoke), a man who devours himself, and raving mad girl gangs.[60] From the scrappy remains of the *Catalogue* we can see, first, that Heracles flitted in and out constantly, reminding one of his continual present-absence in Apollonius' epic.[61] A number of episodes expanded into digressions about Heracles. Second, we see that episodes can be quite long and complex. For instance, the Suitors of Helen section, as we have it, is already 180 lines long, and the whole may have been much larger.[62] This section also seems to come at book-end. The *Aspis* would have made a fine ending, as well, in its case to Book 4. As West notes, the *Catalogue* poet likes to finish off books expansively.

Turning now to the fourth and final sort of evidence, the texture of the respective texts, we can glance at the now famous description of the seasons and the behaviour of snakes with which our text of the *Catalogue* ends (fr. 204.124–42). The natural lore has a specific role: it pins down the time of events through reference to the occurrences of seasons, in the style of

[59] For details, see Janko 1986.

[60] A poem you could pitch to Ms Wishman in a New York minute, seeing as she already did the movie version of a kind of *Catalogue*: *Bad Girls Go to Hell*.

[61] On Heracles in the *Catalogue* see Haubold (this volume).

[62] Cf. Cingano (this volume).

the *Works and Days*. The event which this passage refers to has to do with the punishment of a *hubristês* (see line 137 – the snake itself?). Compare *Aspis* lines 393–401:

> ἦμος δὲ χλοερῶι κυανόπτερος ἠχέτα τέττιξ
> ὄζωι ἐφεζόμενος θέρος ἀνθρώποισιν ἀείδειν
> ἄρχεται, ὧι τε πόσις καὶ βρῶσις θῆλυς ἔέρση,
> καί τε πανημέριός τε καὶ ἠῶιος χέει αὐδήν
> ἴδει ἐν αἰνοτάτωι, ὅτε τε χρόα Σείριος ἄζει,
> τῆμος δὴ κέγχροισι πέρι γλῶχες τελέθουσι
> τούς τε θέρει σπείρουσιν, ὅτ᾽ ὄμφακες αἰόλλονται,
> οἷα Διώνυσος δῶκ᾽ ἀνδράσι χάρμα καὶ ἄχθος·
> τὴν ὥρην μάρναντο, πολὺς δ᾽ ὀρυμαγδὸς ὀρώρει.

And when the dark-winged whirring grasshopper, perched on a green shoot, begins to sing of summer to men – his food and drink is the dainty dew – and all day long from dawn pours forth his voice in the deadliest heat, when Sirius scorches the flesh (then the beard grows upon the millet which men sow in summer), when the crude grapes which Dionysus gave to men – a joy and a sorrow both – begin to colour, in that season they fought, and loud rose the clamour.

Not only is this a digression on nature-lore; it too, unusually, pins down the time of a single event – Heracles' fight with Apollo's enemy, Cycnus, a *hubristês* if ever there was one. The diction surrounding the *Catalogue* snake (fr. 240.135–7) resembles closely *Aspis* snake descriptions (cf. 160ff.); there may be only so many ways to put skin on a snake, but given other patterns so far, this counts.

Do I overrate the *Aspis* by finding for it a home in the *Catalogue of Women*? Or am I trashing the *Catalogue* by smuggling into it this debased product of the rhapsodic imagination at its bloodiest? The classic contradiction of the study of pop culture raises its head. Maybe we should let the *Aspis* lie and not any further suck the flamboyancy out of it. After all, as Clive Bloom puts it: 'Pulp never went to school and hates the academy.'[63]

[63] Bloom 1996: 134.

CHAPTER 8

The Megalai Ehoiai*: a survey of the fragments*

Giovan Battista D'Alessio

If Leo seems to have demonstrated to everyone's satisfaction that the Hesiodic Γυναικῶν Κατάλογος was the same poem as the *Ehoiai*,[1] the relation between the *Catalogue* and the *Megalai Ehoiai* (hereafter *ME*) remains much more debated. The fragments attributed to the *ME* by ancient sources are separately printed in the edition of Merkelbach and West, and West 1985a treats them as belonging to a poem different from the *Catalogue*. The view that the two titles refer to two, more or less different, editions of the same poem is, however, fairly widespread.[2] Schwartz 1960 and Cohen 1986, for example, thought that the two were essentially the same poem known by two different titles,[3] while others, like Casanova 1979b, have argued that the *ME* was an expanded version of the *Catalogue*. Schwartz and Cohen have further argued that sources referring to either work by different titles did so because they had no firsthand acquaintance with the texts. My opinion is that substantial differences in content, focus, and, to a limited extent, narrative technique between the remains of the two poems can hardly be denied. While this may be seen as not incompatible with the hypothesis that the *ME* was a substantially expanded and modified version of the *Catalogue*, I see no unambiguous evidence that it was not a completely separate poem belonging to the same poetic tradition.

[1] Cf. Leo 1894.

[2] The *Catalogue* itself has often been seen as an agglomerate from different periods, which circulated in various redactions: cf., most recently, Ercolani 2001, and, *contra*, e.g., West 1985a: 70, 121–4. For the Hesiodic corpus developing 'schneeballartig', cf. already Wilamowitz 1905: 123–4, who imagined the *ME* as an Alexandrian edition of the *Catalogue* followed by a series of dubious and later additions. For the use of the adjective μέγας, which implies that the *ME* was longer, and not necessarily that it was an enlarged version of the *Ehoiai*, cf. West 1978a: 22 n. 4.

[3] Dräger 1993: 228 n. 246 and 213 n. 202 is of the opinion that Cohen 1986 has demonstrated the 'identity' of the two poems; he is more sceptical in Dräger 1997: 85–6.

THE *MEGALAI EHOIAI* AND HELLENISTIC SCHOLARSHIP

Part of Schwartz's argument was based on the hypothesis that Pergamene scholars knew the poem under the title *Megalai Ehoiai*, while the Alexandrians used the title *Catalogue of Women*, ignoring the alternative title or the version which went under it.[4] Later sources, like the scholia to Pindar and Apollonius Rhodius, would have then used information derived from both Alexandrian and Pergamene scholars, without realising that the two titles did not correspond to different poems. The main evidence adduced by Schwartz for this view was fr. 253 (from the scholia to Pindar, *Pyth*. 4.36c), where the *ME* is quoted by an Asclepiades. Schwartz is probably right in identifying him with Asclepiades of Myrlea, active in the late second and early first centuries BC in Pergamon, Rome and Turdetania. Asclepiades was an important source for our scholia to Pindar and Apollonius of Rhodes: other quotations from the *ME* in these scholia (frr. 250, 254–5, 259a, 260–2) may, or may not, derive from his work. He travelled widely and was very well acquainted with the work of the Alexandrian scholars.[5] The fact that he may have quoted the *ME* under this title cannot therefore be taken as implying that this text was available only at Pergamon, even less that this was the only text circulating at Pergamon. Of the two different 'Hesiodic' versions of the birth of Asclepius (one of which has at some time been attributed to the *ME*),[6] the Pergamene scholar Crates of Mallos knew the one which made him a son of Arsinoe, daughter of Leucippus (fr. 52 = Crates fr. 80 Broggiato), and one of the two anonymous hexameter couplets on Arsinoe cited by an Asclepiades (probably the same scholar) in schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 3.14 (fr. 50) may belong to this poem. Another Pergamene scholar, however, Artemon, roughly Crates' contemporary, attributed to Hesiod a poem where the god was the son of Coronis (fr. 60). From this, one may draw the conclusion that Pergamene scholars knew a poem offering both versions,[7] or that they knew more than one poem.

An important piece of evidence, not previously adduced in this context, is provided by fr. 363A, where Philodemus, in his work *On Piety*, quotes the *ME* in a section most probably derived from the Περὶ θεῶν ('On the gods')

[4] Schwartz 1960: 23, followed by Vian 1961: 270. According to West 1985a: 1 n. 5 'this is possible, but the evidence adduced is weak'. Schwartz's distinction between an Alexandrian and a Pergamene tradition is accepted and partly modified by Casanova 1979b: 226, who, however, thinks that the two titles did not designate identical poems but rather two different versions.

[5] On his biography: Wentzel 1896, Pfeiffer 1978: 329–30; on his interest in ἱστορίαι, cf. D'Alessio 2000. There is no modern collection of his fragments, apart from the one, available on line, by L. Pagani, www.lgga.unige.it.

[6] Cf. below, pp. 208–10. [7] Casanova 1979b: 239–40.

of Apollodorus of Athens (col. 263, ll. 7078–83 Obbink).[8] Apollodorus lived in the second century BC and was active at Athens, Alexandria (where he was a collaborator of Aristarchus), Pergamon, and Athens once again.[9] There is no way to know where he read the *ME*, but I see no strong ground for believing that the work was available only in Pergamon. In many other passages of his book, Philodemus quotes the *Catalogue*, and twice uses the title Ἠοῖαι. If, as is usually assumed, Philodemus' main source for the poetic quotations was Apollodorus, he seems to have been acquainted with both poems, under their different titles. It is interesting that Philodemus quotes the author of the *ME* not as 'Hesiod', but as ὁ τὰ]ς μεγάλας Ἢ[οίας ἀν]αγράψας ('the composer of the *ME*'),[10] while he elsewhere quotes the *Ehoiai* as the work of 'Hesiod' (fr. 23b, 43c [Ἠοῖαι], fr. 72, 150.17–8, 346 [Ἠοῖαι]).[11] This may well reflect the position of Apollodorus, who may have considered only the *Catalogue* (which he quoted under the title Ἠοῖαι) as Hesiodic, and not the *ME*.

A further argument counts for something against the idea that later scholars may have confused the two titles. At least two Oxyrhynchus papyri of the second century AD may be identified with portions of the texts referred

[8] Cf. Henrichs 1975 for Apollodorus as Philodemus' source, and Henrichs 1977 on this particular passage; I am grateful to D. Obbink for having kindly sent me a copy of the relevant passage of his forthcoming edition. In the Philodemus passage, the quotation of the *ME* is followed by one from the *Meropis*, and we happen to have a papyrus fragment of Apollodorus' Περὶ θεῶν (*PKöln* III.126), where he introduces this obscure poem with the words: περιεπέσομεν δὲ ποιήμασιν, ἐφ' ὧν ἦν ἐπιγραφὴ Μεροπίς, οὐ δηλοῦσα τὸν ποήσ<α>[ντα] ('we have found by chance a poem bearing the title *Meropis*, with no indication of the composer'). The Cologne papyrus quotes also the lines alluded to in the Philodemus passage (fr. 6, p. 135 Bernabé: cf. *SH* 903A).

[9] On his biography, cf. Jacoby 1902: 1–9, and 1930: 716–18.

[10] I follow Obbink's reading. For ἀναγράφειν = 'to compose', cf. Epicur. *Epist. ad Herodot.* 35, *Nat.* XXVIII fr. 31.14.27 Arrighetti; for the periphrasis ὁ + title + ἀναγράψας, cf. Diod. Sic. 7.5.4, D. H. *Ant. Rom.* I.72.5, *Is.* 1, Ph. *De Agr.* 50, Porph. *De Abst.* IV.16, scholia Pl. *Phdr.* 244b; in Dem. *Eloc.* 223 the periphrasis indicates not the composer but the editor of a work, which is unlikely in Philodemus, where it is parallel to the following ὁ τὰ] ἔ[πη] Μερ̣οπίδα [ποιήσ]ας. In Philodemus, the periphrasis comes after a gap, but he would have hardly used it if it was preceded by 'Hesiod' (who, as Obbink supposes, might have been mentioned earlier in the same column) and, since no other name is ever attached to the *ME*, it is reasonable to assume that it was not preceded here by a name. On Dem. *Eloc.* 223, cf. Rist 1964, Chiron 1993: xxxiii–lx. Chiron's identification of the Artemon mentioned by Demetrius with the Pergamene scholar is doubtful, if Rist's argument (8) that his edition of Aristotle's letters 'cannot be dated before the late second century BC at the earliest' is correct: the Pergamene was criticised by Menecrates, a pupil of Aristarchus, and it is very uncertain whether he was active in the first century. It is also remarkable that Demetrius goes on to quote a sentence of Artemon's, not of Aristotle's: Rist also supposes that his work may have been a forgery.

[11] Apollodorus quoted the *Catalogue* (fr. 153) as by Hesiod also in his work *On the Catalogue of the Ships* (*FGrHist* 254 F 157 a and f). In other cases, the evidence that he is referring to the *Catalogue* as opposed to other 'Hesiodic' poems (including the *ME*) is more ambiguous. For a list of Hesiodic quotations in Philodemus' *De Pietate* and on fr. 346 = *PHerc* 1648 vii 3, cf. Henrichs 1972: 67 n. 2.

to by Pausanias as belonging to the *ME* (frr. 251a and 259b).[12] If this is correct, it is unlikely that the main sources of our Pindaric and Apollonian scholia, Alexandrian scholars like Didymus and Theon, had only a second-hand knowledge of a poem easily available a few generations later in a provincial city of Egypt.

DIVERGING TRADITIONS ATTRIBUTED TO THE *CATALOGUE* AND THE *MEGALAI EHOIAI*

Some sources explicitly attribute different versions of the same mythical event to the *ME* and the *Catalogue*.[13]

1) Scholia to Ap. Rhod. 2.178 = frr. 254 and 157: πεπηρῶσθαι δὲ Φινέα φησὶν Ἡσίοδος ἐν Μεγάλαις Ἠοίαις, ὅτι Φρίξωι [τοῖς Φρίξου Robert, cf. Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.9.21] τὴν ὁδὸν ἐμήνυσεν, ἐν δὲ τῶι τρίτωι Καταλόγωι ἐπειδὴ τὸν μακρὸν χρόνον τῆς ὄψεως προέκρινεν ('Hesiod in the *ME* says that Phineus had been blinded because he had shown the way to Phrixus, but in the third book of the *Catalogue* because he preferred long life to sight').

We know that in the *Catalogue* a long section of Book 3 was occupied by a catalogue of the lands Phineus was carried to by the Harpies, and by the pursuit of the Boreads (frr. 150–7). In West's reconstruction, the episode is inserted in Phineus' own genealogical slot, close to the root of the Agenorid stemma. According to Cohen, this episode was present in the *ME* as well, where, however, Phineus was also mentioned again on a different occasion, with a different explanation of his blindness.[14]

Schwartz 1960: 161–4 attributed the two versions to the same episode of the same poem by assuming two stages: first, Phineus was granted knowledge of the future, and then, after he had helped Phrixus (or, in Robert's hypothesis – followed by Schwartz – his sons) and the gift could not be taken back, he was punished (either by the gods, for having revealed too much, or by Helios, for the help given to the sons of Phrixus), but was allowed to choose between blindness and a short life. This version is not attested in any source. Schwartz's main piece of evidence was *Etym. Gen. s.v.* ὀπίζεσθαι, apparently based on a fuller version of the scholia to Apollonius, where 'Hesiod' is not explicitly quoted, and a first explanation of his blindness is offered, compatible with that of the scholia: the gods offer him

[12] On these fragments, cf. below, pp. 181–6 and 213–16.

[13] These have been systematically examined by Casanova 1979b: 228–36 (apart from fr. 71A, a papyrus published only later) and by Cohen 1986.

[14] Cohen 1986: 136.

a choice between prophetic ability and blindness or a short life and good health. This is followed by the sentence: τούτου εἵνεκεν ἀγανακτήσας ὁ Ἀπόλλων [Ἥλιος Robert, Wendel] ἐπήρωσεν αὐτόν ('for this reason Apollo [Helios], irritated, blinded him'). This text is in any case defective, since it gives no reason for the god's anger. In all likelihood, as Casanova has argued, the first part of the alternative explanation (*i.e.* the help given to Phrixus, or to his sons, coinciding with the explanation attributed to the *ME* in the scholion to Apollonius) has been omitted in the course of its transmission.[15] The evidence suggests that the two versions attributed to the *Catalogue* and the *ME* were contradictory, not merely complementary.

2) Scholia to Ap. Rhod. 4.58 = frr. 245 (= 10c) and 260: τὸν δὲ Ἐνδυμίωνα Ἡσίοδος μὲν Ἀεθλίου τοῦ Διὸς καὶ Καλύκης, παρὰ Διὸς εἰληφότα τὸ δῶρον ἵν αὐτῶι ταμίαν εἶναι θανάτου, ὅτε θέλοι <ἀπ->ολέσθαι[16] . . . ἐν δὲ ταῖς Μεγάλαις Ἠοίαις λέγεται τὸν Ἐνδυμίωνα ἀνενεχθῆναι ὑπὸ Διὸς εἰς οὐρανόν, ἐρασθέντα δὲ Ἥρας εἰδώλωι παραλογισθῆναι νεφέλης, καὶ διὰ τὸν ἐρωτα ἐκβληθέντα κατελθεῖν εἰς Ἅιδου ('Hesiod says that Endymion, son of Aethlius, son of Zeus and Calyce, had obtained from Zeus the gift of being *the dispenser of death for himself*, when he wished to die . . . in the *ME* it is said that he had been brought to heaven by Zeus, and that, having fallen in love with Hera, he was deceived by the image of a cloud and, because of his love, he was expelled and went down to Hades').

The first passage alludes to a Hesiodic verse known also from a papyrus commentary on Antimachus (*PRIMI* I.17), which attributes it to Book 5. The numeral has provoked suspicion, since Endymion's story was thought to have occurred in the *Catalogue* towards the beginning of Book 1, and a large new papyrus, published in 1981, has shown that the verse (now fr. 10a.62 M.–W.) did indeed appear in a context generally agreed to belong to an early section of Book 1 of the *Catalogue*, at the beginning of the Deucalionid stemma. Endymion's story occupies three verses (vv. 60–2) within the section devoted to the daughters of Aeolus. The text says that he was the son of (probably) Aethlios and Calyce (a daughter of Aeolus), that he was dear to the gods and that Zeus honoured him and gave him the possibility to decide when to become old and to die. The poem moves to his son Aetolus, quickly followed by the grandsons Calydon and Pleuron, and no further mention of Endymion is to be found in this section. It is certainly not impossible that, given his potential longevity, Endymion may have featured also on a subsequent occasion. Nor is it impossible to think that

[15] Casanova 1979b: 233. [16] Fowler 2000 on Acusilaus fr. 36.

a character dear to the gods may have later incurred their hostility through impious behaviour. In the general structure of the preserved fragment, however, there would have been no obstacle in the way of Endymion's crime being mentioned already at this stage: this is exactly what happens with Alkyone and Ceyx, Endymion's aunt and uncle, whose story of crime and punishment is told in fr. 10a.83–98. Cohen 1986: 136–7 has argued that the quotation in the Antimachus commentary of the Hesiodic passage as from Hesiod Book 5 may actually be a reference 'to a part of the poem that has been called *Megalai Ehoiai* by other sources'.[17] This is, however, hardly likely. The commentary on Antimachus (fr. 103 Matthews) quotes this verse as one of two occurrences of the rare pronominal form ἵν 'for himself' (the other one being a variant reading in Aristophanes' text of *Iliad* 22.410). Had the form been found both in Book 1 *and* Book 5, the commentary would have quoted the first passage also. The numeral is probably mistaken: the passage in the papyrus commentary has suffered from a textual dislocation immediately after the quotation, and the intrusive section starts with an ε and this may, perhaps, have contributed to the error.

Endymion's story as told in the *ME* does not seem to have had any impact on other genealogies. If, therefore, we follow the 'expanded version hypothesis', either a new genealogical entry, with different descendants for Endymion, was provided, or he was mentioned as an example when dealing with some other story. In either case, the two versions look contradictory rather than complementary.

3) frr. 259 and 10a.51–7 provide another possible piece of evidence implying that two mutually exclusive versions appeared in the *Catalogue* and the *ME*. Pausanias 6.21.10 = fr. 259a quotes a list of sixteen suitors killed by Oenomaos, attributing it to the *ME*. The first name in the list is Alcathous son of Porthaon, chronologically the second to be killed after one Marmax. In *Olympian* 1.79 (and also in fr. 135 S.–M. = *Threnoi* fr. 61 Cannatà Fera), Pindar says that thirteen suitors were killed. The scholia *ad loc.* say that Hesiod and Epimenides (fr. 17 Fowler) agreed with this number, and provide a list of thirteen names, followed by three other alternative lists of fifteen, thirteen and six suitors. None of them has all the same names as Pausanias, but Alcathous is present in all but the shortest one, while Mermnes or

[17] The idea that the title *ME* referred to some of the later books of the *Catalogue* was current in the nineteenth century, when far less evidence was available about the structure of the *Catalogue* (e.g. Marckscheffel, followed by Bergk and Kirchhoff 1879, identified them with Books 4 and 5: cf., *contra*, Leo 1894: 349).

Mermnon (absent in the shortest list) replace Marmax as the first name.[18] Fr. 259b, a papyrus fragment with an epic text (*POxy* 2499), may represent a portion of the poem alluded to by Pausanias. In line 7, the sequence]ρμαχ[is preserved. Lobel has suggested that this may be an elided form of the name Μάρμαξ, attested only in Pausanias' list,[19] that]αλκα[in line 4 may belong to a form of Alcathous,[20] and that the remains of line 3 may be supplemented as Πορθά]ο̣νος υἱο[. The identification, though not certain, is particularly attractive: the papyrus, just like Pausanias, would offer the sequence Marmax–Alcathous.

In the *Catalogue*, Alcathous was certainly mentioned among the sons of Porthaon in Book 1, fr. 10a.51–7 (his name is preserved in v. 52). The brothers and their sons had usurped the power of Oeneus; Oeneus' son, Tydeus, killed some of them in revenge. There were several versions of the number and identity of the relatives killed by Tydeus, and it is not clear which version was followed in the *Catalogue*. The papyrus text of fr. 10a.55 is lacunose, but seems to admit only two possibilities: either Tydeus killed all his uncles (τοὺς μέν] followed by πατροκασιγνήτους in v. 56, so Merkelbach and West), or all his cousins (τῶν μέν] followed by e.g. υἵας ὑπερφιάλους, as suggested in the *editio princeps*).[21] The second solution implies that Tydeus killed characters not even mentioned by name. It may also be argued that the killing of all his cousins might have been too demanding a task even for Tydeus. If the first solution is the correct one, Alcathous would suffer two incompatible deaths in *ME* and the *Catalogue*. Even in the second case, however, it is not easy to accommodate the two stories together: if Alcathous was killed by Oenomaos when competing for Hippodameia's hand, we must suppose that he was presented as a widower, since he must have earlier begotten the sons doomed to be killed by Tydeus. Once again, it seems reasonable to infer that in this case also the *ME* and the *Catalogue* reflected divergent, rather than complementary, traditions.

[18] The best discussion of Pausanias' passage and its relation to the *ME* is that of Maddoli and Nafissi in Maddoli, Nafissi, Saladino 1999: 362–3 (with previous bibliography), who think that Pausanias' list was based on the *ME*, and that the *Catalogue* may have given only the number of the suitors (thirteen), without their names. The other lists might have been based on Epimenides and later sources.

[19] This is not the only possibility: alternatives would include φά]ρμαχ' or, less likely, a form of ὑπέρμαχος (not attested before the late Hellenistic period).

[20] Other possible supplements, apart from various proper names, would include]ἄλκα[ρ.

[21] Tydeus killed only his uncle Alcathous, according to 'some' in Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 1.8.5: his name appears in several other sources among the *cousins* killed by Tydeus, but in the *Catalogue* he was certainly his uncle. Cf. Parsons–Sijpsteijn–Worp 1981: 16. Space seems to be against τοῦ μέν] in line 55 (which would imply that Tydeus killed only the sons of the otherwise unattested uncle Pyl[us]), though this cannot be ruled out.

4) Paus. 4.2.1 = fr. 251b also suggests that the two titles corresponded to two different poems: πυθέσθαι δὲ σπουδῆι πάνυ ἐθελήσας, οἵ τινες παῖδες Πολυκάονι ἐγένοντο ἐκ Μεσσήνης, ἐπελεξάμην τάς τε Ἠοίας καλουμένας καὶ τὰ ἔπη τὰ Ναυπάκτια, πρὸς δὲ αὐτοῖς ὁπόσα Κιναίθων καὶ Ἄσιος ἐγενεαλόγησαν. οὐ μὴν ἔς γε ταῦτα ἦν σφισιν οὐδὲν πεποιημένον, ἀλλὰ Ὕλλου μὲν τοῦ Ἡρακλέους θυγατρὶ Εὐαίχμηι συνοικῆσαι Πολυκάονα υἱὸν Βούτου λεγούσας τὰς Μεγάλας οἶδα Ἠοίας, τὰ δὲ ἐς τὸν Μεσσήνης ἄνδρα καὶ τὰ ἐς αὐτὴν Μεσσήνην παρεῖταί σφισι ('Wishing very much to learn who were the sons of Polycaon and Messene, I read the poem called *Ehoiai* and the epic poem *Naupactia* and, in addition, the genealogies composed by Cinaethon and Asius. And, indeed, there was nothing relevant to the subject in these authors, but I know that the *Megalai Ehoiai* says that Polycaon, son of Boutes, married Euaichme, daughter of Hyllus, son of Heracles, but they have nothing to offer about Messene's husband and Messene herself').

Two hexameter papyrus texts are relevant to Pausanias' statement. Fr. 71A (*POxy* 2999) has a section, preceded by a *paragraphos*, which introduces a Ceyx at the beginning of its first line, and mentions at ll. 8–10 Bout[es] or his sons, and the daughters of Hyllus. This Ceyx must be the king of Trachis, who for a time welcomed Hyllus and his family.[22] In later authors (e.g. Ovid in *Metamorphoses* 11), he is sometimes assimilated to the husband of the Aeolid Alkyone, but this is not possible in the *Catalogue*, where Alkyone's husband is dealt with in Book 1, several generations earlier than Heracles (fr. 10a.83–98).[23] The only genealogy for the other Ceyx is provided by schol. Soph. *Tr.* 40, where he is the son of a brother of Amphitryon. We do not know who the Boutidai of fr. 71A are, but, if we keep in mind the fact that Attica was involved in defending the sons of Hyllus from Eurystheus, they are likely to be the descendants of one of the several Attic heroes called Boutes, connected with the (Eteo)boutadai clan.[24] This section of the papyrus is followed by a new one (preceded by a *paragraphos* and starting with the words ηοιησχ[, v. 12) and by a blank space. Parsons and West argued that this is the same line as fr. 73.1 (top of a column in *PPetrie* I.3.3), to be supplemented as ἠ' οἵη Σχοινῆος ἀγακλει-] τοῖο ἄνακτος, the beginning of the Atalanta-*ehoie* in the *Catalogue*.[25]

[22] Cf. Lobel on POxy 2498 (quoting Diod. Sic. 4.57), and several other sources, starting as early as Hecataeus fr. 30 Jacoby–Fowler. Another connection with Hyllus is provided by scholia Lyc. 804, where a Ceyx is listed among Hyllus' sons.

[23] On the two traditions about Ceyx, cf. Prinz 1979: 224–5, who leaves open the question whether 'Hesiod' knew one or two characters with this name.

[24] Their eponymous ancestor Boutes was the son of Poseidon in the *Catalogue*, cf. fr. 223.

[25] Cf. Parsons 1974: 1. On the position of the Atalanta-*ehoie* within the *Catalogue*, cf. below, pp. 213–16.

Fr. 251a = POxy 2498 seems to mention the same union as fr. 71A.8–11. In this case, the names of both the daughters of Hyllus (Aristaechme and Euaechme) and the sons of Boutes (Poulycoon and Polycreion) are preserved. West supplements ἀγάγοντο at the end of 2, implying that the Boutidai brought their wives to Ceyx's place. A perhaps more likely alternative involves supplementing a verb like ἵκοντο:[26] they went to Ceyx's place in order to woo Hyllus' daughters. In this second papyrus, the section is not focused on Ceyx (who is mentioned only incidentally) but is introduced by a relative pronoun connected to the name of Hyllus' wife, mentioned in the lost lines (probably Iole). The two texts, therefore, introduced the marriage of the Boutidai in two different genealogical contexts.

The last line of fr. 251a mentions the marriage between a woman whose name is lost in a lacuna and a Chaeresilaus Iasides. This must be the father of Poemander, the founder of Tanagra, Chaeresilaus, son of Iasius (or Iasion), son of Eleuther, son of Apollo and Aethousa, daughter of Poseidon (Paus. 9.20.2).[27] Lobel noted that in Plut. *Qu. Gr.* 37 Poemander's mother is called Stratonice, and that she may have been the woman mentioned at v. 10. According to *POxy* 2463,[28] however, Stratonice, daughter of an Euon[ymos], was the *wife* of Poemander in Rhianus' *Heracleia* (*SH* 715). Rhianus and Plutarch seem to represent divergent traditions, and we do not know which of them, if either, coincided with that of fr. 252a. As for Euonymus, J. Rea, in the *editio princeps* of *POxy* 2463, refers to Εὐωνυμίαι, the title of a poem by the Tanagraean Corinna. We may add that he is most probably the same Euonymus, son of Cephisus[29] and father of Aulis (close to Tanagra, and sometimes connected to it in the mythical tradition),[30] known to Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Αὐλίς and scholia D *Il.* 2.496, and mentioned in a list of seers in Corinna's poem on the daughters of Asopus (fr. 654 iii.33 *PMG*, cf. possibly also in fr. 691.10). In

[26] For an attempt in this direction, cf. Robertson 1980b: 5–6 n. 12: γαμέειν μεμαῶτες ἵκοντο. Or, perhaps better, ἔδνοις *uel* δώροις διζήμενοι ἦλθον: cf. fr. 43a.77.

[27] This lineage was mentioned in Hesiod: cf. the new Philodemus testimony on p. 190a of the third edition of the OCT, and West 1985b: 5, who brings fr. 185.1–7 back to this genealogy. Since Iasion is mentioned (in the nominative) at the end of line 6, the second hemistich of line 7 is filled by a nominative epithet, and line 8 abandons this lineage for Apollo's union with Astreis, it seems that Chaeresilaus was not mentioned in this context. On fr. 185, cf. further below, p. 207.

[28] On which cf. Livrea 1989 (= 1991: 197–205), Aristophanes Boeotus fr. 1A Fowler.

[29] Cephisus appears in the *Catalogue* in the section dedicated to the daughters of Leucon, fr. 70.17 ff. (possibly the landscape of their ritual wanderings before their marriage? Cf. Porthaon's daughters in fr. 26.10–21), a section not far away from the conjectural placing of Atalanta's entry. The *testimonia* collected under fr. 71 attest that Hesiod made him the father of Eteoclus, and that, according to Paus. 9.34.9, Eteoclus was the son of Andreus, son of Orchomenus, and of Euippe, Leucon's daughter, but the citizens said that he was in fact the son of Cephisus. In fr. 70.34–6, however, according to the reconstruction of Merkelbach and West (cf. also Schwartz 1960: 434–5), Eteoclus should be the husband, and not the son, of one of Leucon's daughters, possibly the same Euippe. Either this reconstruction should be called into question, or fr. 71 should be attributed to another Hesiodic poem, such as the *ME*.

[30] Cf. Livrea 1989: 144 n. 14 = 1991: 200–1 and n. 14.

fr. 251a Chaeresilaus' wife must either be a further daughter of Hyllus and Iole, or a previously mentioned female relative. Stratonice would be a suitable name in Iole's family: it was also the name of her grandmother (fr. 26.23–31). If we assume that Chaeresilaus' wife belongs to Heracles' lineage, a puzzling particular mentioned in Plut. *Qu. Gr.* 37 may be explained. In this text, Poemander, besieged by the Achaeans, has to leave the city in order to be purified. His son Ephippus persuades Achilles, Tlepolemus and Peneleos to escort him out of town: all the three heroes are said to be συγγενεῖς αὐτῶι. In order to explain the link with Tlepolemus, nothing better has been found than 'the Theban origin of Heracles', Tlepolemus' father.[31] A better ground would be provided if Poemander's mother were Tlepolemus' niece (the daughter of his half-brother Hyllus).[32] The problem remains that Chaeresilaus' wife was not apparently mentioned at the beginning of the fragment, together with Aristaechme and Euaechme.[33] Her genealogy may have been added after her name, and she may have been mentioned separately for a variety of reasons: she may have been born when Hyllus and Iole had left Ceyx's house, to which she later returned; or she may be the daughter of Hyllus and a different wife.[34]

Fr. 71A, on the other hand, seems to be centred on the genealogy of Ceyx, mentioning probably first his son Hippasus (Parsons *ad loc.*), and then Hyllus' daughters, whom Ceyx gave as wives to the Boutidai (perhaps after Hyllus' death); in the usual version, the Heracleidai have left Ceyx by that time: did Hyllus leave some of his daughters with Ceyx?).[35] Fr. 251a must have had its starting-point in Hyllus' wife, probably Iole. The two genealogical bits cannot easily be accommodated within a coherent project. Fr. 71A.12 ηοιη implies that the fragment belongs to the *Ehoiai* or to the *ME*. Its attribution to the *Catalogue* is consistent with the evidence of Pausanias, who does not say that the marriage of Boutes' sons did not

[31] Halliday 1928: 164. Cf. also Livrea 1989: 145 n. 16 = 1991: 201.

[32] This provides also a more convincing link with Peneleos, a son of Hippalcimus, Electryon's brother, and a cousin of Amphitryon.

[33] It is theoretically possible to fit all the names in a single line: ἢ τέκ' Ἀρισταίχμ[ην Στρατονίκην τ' Εὐαίχμην τε, but this would disrupt the neat sequence Aristaechme/Euaechme and would make it difficult to understand that τάς in the new line does not include Stratonice.

[34] West 1985b: 5 n. 11 thinks that she may be a sister of Iole; this would leave unexplained Poemander's relation to Tlepolemus and Peneleos in Plutarch.

[35] Cf. also Prinz 1979: 226–31, who does not seem to make any distinction between the *Catalogue* and the *ME*, and attributes the passage to the 'second half, or rather the last third of the seventh century', drawing the conclusion that the whole 'Heraklidensage' must have originated later than this date. This seems to me an uncertain deduction: 1) We do not know how long the sojourn of the Heracleidai in Trachis lasted in the different traditions (Diod. Sic. 4.57 says that Eurystheus began to be afraid μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Ὕλλου καὶ τῶν ἑτέρων ἀνδρωθέντων, 'later on, when Hyllus and the others reached manhood'): in the *ME*, Hyllus may have stayed in Trachis long enough to marry Iole and beget the daughters, and he may have left them in Trachis after Eurystheus' ultimatum; 2) Hyllus may have sent his daughters to Trachis at a later stage; 3) Ceyx's house may be the place where the sons of Boutes, and not the daughters of Hyllus, are (West's hypothesis: cf. above, p. 184).

appear in this work, but rather that there was no mention of the sons of Messene and Polycaon. We may also infer that he had found no mention of Polycaon's wife in the poems he lists, since he singles out the *ME* for this information. There is no need to suppose that in fr. 71A the two brothers and the two sisters were separately mentioned by their names. The fact that their entry is followed by a line starting with the plural pronoun τῶν (11) suggests that they may have been treated as a group without internal distinctions, which would have made it difficult to specify which brother married which sister. Another possibility, of course, is that in fr. 71A no son of Boutes was called Po(u)lycaon. Fr. 251a on the other hand, cannot belong to the *Ehoiai*, if Pausanias in fr. 251a implies that no wife of any Polycaon was mentioned in that work. In the *ME*, Pausanias did find a Polycaon son of Boutes who married a Euaechme, daughter of Hyllus. The difference with fr. 251a is that in the papyrus Polycaon marries Aristaechme, while Polycreion marries her sister Euaechme. While it is theoretically possible that fr. 251a does not represent the text of the *ME* referred to by Pausanias, the mistake with the two pairs of similar names is a very easy one, and every likelihood suggests that the papyrus fragment does belong to the *ME*.[36] If we assume that the *ME* was an expanded version of the *Catalogue*, and that fr. 71A belongs to the *Catalogue*, this would imply that the marriages of the Boutidai were narrated twice, with different details, within the same poem.

The available evidence, then, suggests that there were substantial differences between the two poems. Four out of the seventeen preserved fragments show versions divergent from those attested in the *Catalogue*, and – as I hope the following survey may show – it can be argued that many of the other fragments also reflect different traditions. Even if we suppose that all the variants examined above were fitted into the same work, it is difficult to image how such a collection, replete with alternative and conflicting versions, may be described as one of 'two somewhat different editions of essentially the same poem' (Cohen 1986: 142).

The point is not whether an archaic poem may have been transmitted in a version including self-contradictory material. This is obviously the case, for example, of the *Theogony* and the *Works and Days* themselves (though recent reconstructions of the *Catalogue* suggest that it may have been a more tightly organised work).[37] The difference is that for the *Catalogue*/*ME* such divergent versions are not in fact attributed by ancient sources to the

[36] Alternatively, one could imagine that fr. 251b belongs to a further unknown genealogical poem, different from both the *Catalogue* and the *ME*. This cannot be ruled out, but seems a less economical explanation. Cf. Casanova 1979b: 230; Meliadò 2003: 4.

[37] Cf. below, pp. 187–8 and 209.

same poem but to *two* different titles, and there is no piece of ancient evidence suggesting that the two titles did not refer to two different poems. Schwartz and Cohen, indeed, based their hypothesis on the assumption that the various sources, which set the two against each other, did not have firsthand knowledge of at least one of them. This is particularly unlikely for Pausanias, who explicitly says that he has read the *Catalogue*, and who has two verbatim quotations, several lines long, from the *ME* (frr. 252 and 257).[38] As we have seen above,[39] there is also no reason to believe that the scholia to Apollonius Rhodius and to Pindar did not draw on the work of scholars acquainted with both poems.

It is more difficult to say whether the two poems were organised as two different and independent works, or as two different versions of a poem, sharing the same general structure and the same proem (Casanova's model). In favour of this latter hypothesis, Casanova remarks: 1) that the style of the fragments belonging to the two poems is extremely similar, and 2) that the *ME* either features characters mentioned also in the *Catalogue* or adds new particulars referring to some of their offspring not mentioned in the *Catalogue*.[40] The second argument is certainly true, but of limited utility. The *Catalogue* had a comprehensive scope, aiming at covering the main genealogies of the whole myth-historical tradition of Greece: that another genealogical poem may have had overlaps with it is only to be expected. The similarity in style too is unmistakable, but it may also indicate merely that the two poems belonged to the same poetic tradition.

If we want to follow the hypothesis that the two poems did share the same general structure, we also have to envisage the way this may have worked. The idea that the *ME* was an appendix to the previous poem would lead us back to the idea of two different but sequential poems. The 'expanded version hypothesis' is not unreasonable, given the accretive nature of the generative principle of the *Catalogue* itself. It would, however, require a much more complex scenario, if the carefully organised structure of the 'shorter' *Catalogue* is taken into account: if we do not wish to think of two separate poems, we have to assume that a later version was produced without disrupting the original architecture of the older one, while inserting at various places different episodes, sometimes clearly conflicting with the

[38] The fact that in fr. 251b Pausanias says λεγούσας τὰς Μεγάλας οἴδα Ἠοίας does not imply firsthand knowledge, but neither rules it out: cf. 1.43.1 (Hesiod, fr. 23b), where the same expression is used for the *Catalogue*, and 9.27.2, where it is used of the *Theogony* (Schwartz 1960: 137, who reads our passage as suggesting that Pausanias had no first-hand knowledge of the *ME*, has to explain the reference to the *Theogony* in Book 9 as a possible 'tic de langage'). Cf. also Maddoli and Nafissi 1999: 362.

[39] Cf. above, pp. 177–9. [40] Casanova 1979b: 237.

pre-existing ones. In his reconstruction of the *Catalogue* itself, a similar scenario has been accepted in some cases by West, for example for the Danae-*ehoie* (fr. 135), which seems to have been a way to fill up the gap of Perseus' genealogy by repeating also part of the genealogical material introduced in fr. 129.[41] In that case, however, the repeated material is very limited, and no contradiction is involved.[42] In the case of the *ME*, the operation would have had to have been carried out on a far more vast scale. This would also imply an ambivalent attitude towards the older poem. On the one hand, its structure would have been canonical enough to be preserved; on the other hand, much new information, at times incompatible with the previous one, was inserted in it. This is not impossible, but, on the whole, the hypothesis of two different genealogical poems, though belonging to the same poetic tradition, seems less problematic.

A SURVEY OF THE FRAGMENTS

Heracles and his descendants

Frr. 248 and 249 come from a speech of Alcmene addressed to Heracles. The presence of Alcmene's speech is itself of great interest, as it has been remarked that direct speeches are exceedingly rare in the *Catalogue*, and that there is no attested case of a speech uttered by a heroine.[43] The lack of female speakers may perhaps partly be due to chance, as far as the *Catalogue* is concerned. In the *ME*, however, Alcmene was certainly given the chance to speak. The context of the speech is uncertain. The first fragment reads:

> ὦ τέκος, ἦ μάλα δή σε πονηρότατον καὶ ἄριστον
> Ζεὺς τέκνωσε πατήρ

O my son! As the most oppressed by toils and the most valiant your father Zeus did indeed beget you.

It was followed by a further address:

> . . . Μοῖραί σε πονηρότατον καὶ ἄριστον.

The Moirai [decreed that] you [should be] the most oppressed by toils and the most valiant.

[41] Cf. West 1985a: 82.

[42] For the most important case of substantially contradictory material, the Arsinoe/Coronis issue, cf. below, pp. 208–10.

[43] Cf. Rutherford 2000: 88 (with reference to Diomedes in *Gram. Lat.* i.482–3, where the *Catalogue* is mentioned as an example of a poem where the characters do not speak), 94.

In both passages, the adjective πονηρός has the meaning of ἐπίπονος, δυστυχής. There are quite a few occasions on which the hero might have been conveniently addressed as πονηρότατος. One can think, for example, of the episode of his murderous madness, which led to the killing of his wife and his sons, but there is no evidence that this story was present in 'Hesiod'.[44] The two quotations would, in fact, have been very appropriate within a speech addressed by Alcmene to her dying son on Mount Oeta, and several features of the two fragments are compatible with a funeral speech. The notion of the sufferings met by the ἄριστος appears in Thetis' speech in *Iliad* 18.54–60, where she also calls herself δυσαριστοτόκεια.[45] This is not, properly speaking, a funeral speech, since Achilles is not yet dead, but Thetis foresees his death as certain and imminent, and many scholars have suspected that her speech may reflect some features of the funeral lament she delivered elsewhere in the epic tradition.[46] The mention of the Moirai determining the dead hero's destiny is equally at home in a funerary context (cf. e.g. *Iliad* 24.209–11). The fact itself that the two quotations pathetically repeat the address, using the same hemistich, reflects a further feature frequent in ritual laments, that of the cumulative effect of repetitions.[47] The pairing of two epithets with opposite connotation also finds parallels in the use of oxymora in mourning contexts.[48] Alcmene's presence at the moment of Heracles' death is uncertainly attested in the few Greek texts relating this event,[49] but it finds a parallel in the (? pseudo-) Senecan *Hercules Oetaeus*, where she actually delivers several pathetic speeches before and after the death of her son (vv. 1337–1431, 1758–1939).

In the *Catalogue*, Heracles' death is briefly mentioned in fr. 25.24–33 (Book 1, with lines 26–33, his apotheosis, obelised in POxy 2075), and, once again, in fr. 229.8–13 (? Book 4), repeating fr. 25.28–33.[50] In neither

[44] For a survey of the earlier sources, cf. Bond 1981: xxviii–xxx.

[45] Alcmene is ἀριστοτόκεια in Theocr. 24.73. Thetis' speech is echoed by Alcmene in [Mosch.] *Megara* 86 δυστοκέουσα, and 89–90 οὐδ' οἶδα δυσάμμορος εἴτε μιν αὖτις | ἐνθάδε νοστήσανθ' ὑποδέξομαι εἴτε καὶ οὐκί; cf. *Il.* 18.54 δυσαριστοτόκεια and 59–60 τὸν δ' οὐχ ὑποδέξομαι αὖτις | οἴκαδε νοστήσαντα (cf. Breitenstein 1966: 41, 81). Lament of the father for the death of the υἱεῖς ἄριστοι: *Il.* 24.255–62.

[46] Cf. Edwards 1991 on vv. 52–64, 54 and 55–7.

[47] Cf. Alexiou 1974: 150–60.

[48] Cf. Seaford 2003: 146–8.

[49] In Soph. *Tr.* 1148–50 the dying Heracles sends for her, but Hyllus tells him that she is in Tiryns: Heracles' sons are apparently divided between Tiryns, Thebes and Trachis. In Hecataeus fr. 30 Jacoby–Fowler, the descendants of Heracles are in Trachis after the hero's death, a version shared by Diod. Sic. 4.57 and Paus.1.32.6: none of these sources, however, mentions Alcmene. That she was present at Heracles' death seems to be presupposed in *IG* XII.2, 382–4 (= Peek *GVI* 2023) ll. 19–20 (funerary epigram from Mytilene, I/II AD; 'not even Alcmene [with her prayers?] saved Heracles when he was being consumed'). For conjectures on her possible role in this situation in lost Greek tragedies, cf. Breitenstein 1966: 56 and n. 125 (who also adduced the epigram quoted above).

[50] On Heracles in the *Catalogue*, cf. Haubold (this volume).

case is any space allowed for a major elaboration of a pathetic scene like the one present in the *ME*. In any case, on whatever occasion the speech was delivered in this poem, it implies a Heracles-episode with a considerable narrative expansion.

A fuller treatment of the Oeta-episode would offer interesting points of contact with other fragments attributed to this poem. Several fragments from the *ME* seem to have focused on the destiny of the Heracleidai. This may be the fruit of chance, which has preserved our scanty quotations, but it is worth considering whether the poem did indeed cover some important ground neglected in the *Catalogue*, by privileging the story of the Heracleidai and strengthening the claim to primacy of those territories dominated by groups who claimed the Heracleidai among their ancestors.

In fr. 10a.1–19 of the *Catalogue*, the Dorians seem to be very briefly treated, giving way immediately, after the brief parenthesis of Xouthos, to the huge Aeolid lineage. The sons of Heracles and Deianeira are mentioned in a single line within this lineage, at fr. 25.19. Hyllus may have appeared once again at the end of fr. 229, where West conjectures that his marriage to Iole was mentioned,[51] but none of his sons is attested in any fragment explicitly attributed to the *Catalogue*. Cleodaeus' offspring is mentioned in fr. 231, but this is not explicitly quoted as from the *Catalogue* and, as West allows, it 'may come from the Μεγάλαι Ἠοῖαι'.[52] In fr. 71A, as we have seen, Hyllus' daughters were mentioned as a group, apparently within the lineage of Ceyx. The scanty fragments of the *ME*, on the other hand, offer a remarkable concentration of fragments dealing with the destiny of Heracles' family after his death. In fr. 251a Hyllus' daughters are certainly mentioned by name (which may not have been the case in the *Catalogue*) and inserted within a lineage, which started with their mother, presumably Iole. Fr. 251a may have not been very much removed from the context of frr. 248 and 249, if these fragments come from an account of his death on Mount Oeta.

Fr. 252, giving the genealogy of Chaeron, the eponym of Chaeroneia, also deals with the later generations of Heracles' descendants. Phylas marries a Leipephile,[53] a daughter of Iolaus, Heracles' nephew. Their son Hippotes is probably mentioned,[54] followed by his sister Thero, the mother of Chaeron by Apollo. Phylas himself, according to a widespread tradition,

[51] West 1985a: 112–13. [52] West 1985a: 113. Cf. also, below, p. 191, n. 57.

[53] On her name, cf. Robertson 1980b: 9.

[54] The text presents a metrical problem, as Hippotes' name cannot be inserted in a hexameter: it is possible that a metrical anomaly was allowed (West 1982: 27 and 39), or, less likely, that a variant form was used (Sylburg emended to ἡ δὲ οἱ Ἱπποτέ' υἱόν; Siebelis conjectured that the name occurred in the form Ἱπποτάδην). Robertson 1980b: 9–10 argued that 'Hippotes has replaced another name at the beginning of the line, whether a name beginning with Ἱππoτ- or something quite different', and

was a descendant of Heracles: he was a Dryops, and his father, Antiochus, was the son of Heracles and Meda (Pausanias 1.5.2, 9.10.1), the daughter of a previous Phylas (in other sources a Leagoras), king of the Dryopes, attacked and killed by Heracles and the Malians (Ceyx's subjects) for his impious behaviour toward the Delphian sanctuary.[55] His son Hippotes was responsible for the failure of the first attempt of the Dorians at invading the Peloponnese via Naupactus, and was exiled thereafter for ten years (Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 2.8.3). One of Hippotes' sons was the Aletes who led the Dorians into Corinth.[56]

On the basis of these few fragments, the conclusion may be drawn that the *ME* appears to have given a greater emphasis, in comparison with the *Catalogue*, to the figure of Heracles and his descendants. At least one Heracles episode included a pathetic speech by Alcmene (a feature unparalleled in the preserved fragments of the *Catalogue*), and the hypothesis that this was his death on Mount Oeta is at least attractive. Some of the characters mentioned in the fragments are, in later sources, connected with the saga of the return of the Heracleidai. It is not possible to know whether the saga was narrated or given any prominence in the *ME*.[57] An interesting feature, in any case, is that two genealogical fragments (251 and 252) both focus

that this was possible 'because the other name belonged to some local worthy of eastern Boeotia or Phocis and was relatively unfamiliar'. Robertson may well be right in supposing that Hippotes is a relatively late insertion in the genealogy, but it seems unreasonable to argue that this insertion must have taken place *after* the *ME*, by postulating an interference with the text by 'later systematizers'. I do not think it is very likely that somebody wanted to change the name of Thero's brother in the poem, which may be defined itself as the product of a 'systematizer', not necessarily a very late one, of the Heracleid tradition; Robertson 1980b: 10 thinks Hippotes was inserted in the 'fifth or fourth century'. The *ME* must have been early enough to have been known to Pindar, though not necessarily earlier than the late sixth century. (C. Meliadò draws my attention to the form Ἵππωτος, transmitted in Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 2.7.8 and sometimes understood as a corruption of a masculine nominative).

[55] Cf. Diod. Sic. 4.37.1, Apollod., *Bibl.* 2.7.7, *arg.* Soph. *Tr.*, Paus. 4.34.9. His father Antiochus gave the name to one of the Attic *phylai*: cf. Paus. 1.5.2 and 10.10.1. For further details, cf. Lenschau 1941.

[56] Cf. Prinz 1979: 306; Robertson 1980b. Hippotes' killing of Carnus is connected to the aetiology of the Carneia (cf., among others, Robertson 1980b: 10–22). It is probably no more than a coincidence, but the fact that his sister is called Thero is curiously evocative, given the prominence of Thera in the literary tradition about this festival (Pind. *Pyth.* 5.72–81, Call. *hy.* 2.71–96). For the possible appearance of Cyrene in the *ME*, cf. below, pp. 196–9, 206–7, and 210–12, on the Mekionike and Cyrene *ehoiai*.

[57] As for the *Catalogue*, cf. West 1985a: 57–9 and 113–14. Frr. 231–3 are attributed generically to 'Hesiod' and not specifically to the *Catalogue*, and may well belong to the *ME*. Fr. 231 mentions Cleodaeus' offspring, i.e., presumably, Aristomachus. It is rather doubtful that θεσσάμενος γενεήν here may be used 'd'un suppliant venu trouver un fils ou descendant du dit Cléodaios' (Schwartz 1960: 469); θεσσάμενοι . . . γένος in the parallel passage of Ap. Rhod. 1.824 and the usual construction of the verb show that the meaning must be 'having asked for', 'having reclaimed'. Fr. 232 mentions Tlepolemus and his mother, Astydameia, daughter of Phylas (a different character from the one involved in fr. 252) and fr. 233 the Dorians τριχάϊκες. West 1985a: 113 remarks how 'Aristodemus at least cannot have appeared in hexameters under this name': cf. the similar problem for Hippotes in fr. 252.3, discussed above, n. 54.

on Heracles' descendants and are connected with central Greece. Ceyx is mentioned when talking of Hyllus' daughters, and Phylas is the grandson of the homonymous king of the Dryopes. It seems that the *ME* shared the same interest for Heracles' adventures in central Greece found in other poems attributed to the Hesiodic tradition: the *Aspis*, the *Wedding of Ceyx*, and, if the title is relevant to the content, the *Aigimios*.[58] If we imagine the *ME* as an expanded version of the *Catalogue*, the *Aspis* would possibly also provide a thematic parallel. If, as I think is more likely, it was a separate poem, it may have been the product of the same poetic tradition to which the other Hesiodic Heracles-poems belong.

The possible focus on Heracles' connections with central Greece, as well as a few, admittedly doubtful, cases of possible pro-Laconian features,[59] might suggest that this poem may have reflected the interests of the members representing the Dorian metropolis in the Delphian Amphictyony. The relationship between the Dorian *ethne* of central Greece and Sparta within the Amphictyony is not clear, though it seems likely that, at least on certain occasions, Sparta voted on behalf of the *metropolis*.[60] The same attention toward Heracles, on the other hand, may have had quite a different function within a Boeotian context, where it might have been seen as reflecting a pro-Theban tendency.[61] Any attempt at finding a unifying focus within such a scanty collection of fragments is bound, however, to be dangerously misleading.

Heracles and Telamon

A thematic connection with the *Wedding of Ceyx* may be detected also in a further Heracles episode attributed to the *ME*, fr. 250. In *Isthmian* 6.35–56, Pindar narrates how Heracles, having come to summon Telamon to his expedition against Troy, finds the hero at a banquet, and, while still wearing his lionskin, is requested by his host to offer a libation. Heracles prays to Zeus that Telamon may beget a son as invulnerable as his lionskin. The prayer is followed by a good omen, the appearance of Zeus's bird, an eagle. Heracles announces, as a prophet, that Telamon shall have a son, whose name, based on the omen of the eagle (αἰετός), shall be Aias (Ajax). The scholia to this passage (53a Drachm.) say that Pindar is innovating in having Heracles reacting to Telamon's request:

[58] On the *Aigimios*, cf. Robertson 1980a. [59] Cf. below, pp. 199–200.
[60] Cf. Lefèvre 1998: 52–5; Sánchez 2001: 39 n. 36.
[61] Heracleidai in Boeotian towns: Chaeroneia, fr. 252; Tanagra, fr. 251a.10–1. For the possible Theban perspective in the Boeotian fragments, cf. below, pp. 200–1. On fr. 250, cf. below, n. 70.

τοῦτο ἰδίως. οὐ γὰρ ὁ Τελαμὼν ἐκέλευσε τῶι Ἡρακλεῖ ἐμβῆναι τῶι δέρματι καὶ εὔξασθαι, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ὁ Ἡρακλῆς τοῦτο κατ' ἰδίαν ἔπραξε προαίρεσιν. εἴληπται δὲ ἐκ τῶν Μεγάλων Ἠοιῶν ἡ ἱστορία· ἐκεῖ γὰρ εὑρίσκεται ἐπιξενούμενος ὁ Ἡρακλῆς τῶι Τελαμῶνι καὶ ἐμβαίνων τῆι δορᾶι καὶ εὐχόμενος, καὶ οὕτως ὁ διόπομπος αἰετὸς, ἀφ' οὗ τὴν προσωνυμίαν ἔλαβεν Αἴας

('Pindar is here innovating. Telamon did not exhort Heracles to walk on the skin and to make a prayer, but Heracles himself did so by his own choice. The story has been taken from the *ME*: there Heracles is Telamon's guest, he walks on the skin and prays, and thus comes the eagle (*aietos*) sent by Zeus, from which Aias took his name').

The scholiast draws attention to a single innovation in Pindar's tale: it is Telamon who requests Heracles' libation, while in the *ME* this was Heracles' initiative. The two expressions ἐμβῆναι τῶι δέρματι and ἐμβαίνων τῆι δορᾶι 'walking on the skin' used by the scholiast have caused problems. The first is an inaccurate paraphrase of Pindar's text (37 τὸν μὲν ἐν ῥινῶι λέοντος στάντα 'standing in the lionskin'), while the latter has been taken as a corruption of ἐμβάλλων (or ἐμβαλών) τῆι δορᾶι, on the basis of a similar expression found in the D-scholia on *Iliad* 23.821 (καὶ ἀναλαβὼν τὸν παῖδα περιέβαλεν τῆι λεοντῆι 'and picking up the child he wrapped him in the lionskin'), where a different version of the story is told.[62] In that case Telamon's son, Ajax, has already been born, and Heracles, in formulating his prayer, envelops the child in his lionskin, which makes him invulnerable (apart from his neck, or his armpit, which was not in contact with the skin): no mention of an eagle is made in this context. This second story, which is presupposed by Ajax's partial invulnerability in Aeschylus' *Thracian Women* and Sophocles' *Ajax*, may actually have been told by Aeschylus (cf. Radt *ad* fr. 83), and is known also to later sources (as Lycophron 455–6).[63] The two stories imply two different situations: in Pindar (as in Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 3.12.7, where the same story is told) Ajax is not yet born.[64] It is possible that the scholiast has made some slight confusion in his wording, when describing the function of the lionskin. It is, nonetheless, more than likely that the 'Hesiodic' situation was roughly

[62] Cf. Schwartz 1960: 391 n. 6, and the apparatus of Merkelbach and West. I am in any case not sure that ἐμβάλλω would be the appropriate verb in this context: does Heracles wrap the baby in the lionskin while wearing it?

[63] On the various traditions, cf. Berthold 1911: 6–26.

[64] In its earlier part, *Bibl.* is largely based on the *Catalogue* (cf. West 1985a: 32–5, 44–6, with earlier bibliography on 35 n. 17). In this case, however, it does not seem to be following the *Catalogue*, if fr. 226 is correctly attributed to the *Ehoiai*: here, the snake Cychreides is reared by Cychreus, and banished by an Eurylochus, while in *Bibl.* Cychreus kills the snake.

the same as that in Pindar.[65] Had the prayer in Hesiod been uttered after the birth of Ajax, it would have been rather odd for the commentator to focus on an arguably minor discrepancy (whether Heracles' prayer was requested or not), without mentioning the wider difference.

The line introducing Telamon's banquet in Pindar's text (v. 33) is missing two syllables. Schwenn and von der Mühll have persuasively argued that the banquet must have been the one celebrating Telamon's wedding, and von der Mühll has actually integrated the word <γάμον> or <γάμους> in v. 33, a reconstruction accepted in the text by E. Thummer and G. A. Privitera.[66] As for the motif of the uninvited guest, however, von der Mühll could quote only the arrival of Eris at Peleus' wedding, an inauspicious parallel.[67] A much more pertinent parallel is provided by the situation of Ceyx's wedding in the homonymous 'Hesiodic' poem, where Heracles, of all people, arrives uninvited at the wedding banquet of his friend Ceyx.[68] This gave occasion to the much quoted proverbial line:

> αὐτόματοι δ' ἀγαθοὶ ἀγαθῶν ἐπὶ δαῖτας ἵενται
>
> Uninvited good men rush to the banquets of the good
> (fr. 263)

In both cases, the visit was followed by a military campaign: against the Dryopes in the Ceyx poem, and against Troy in the *ME*.[69] If, as I believe, the same situation appeared in the Telamon episode of the *ME*, this would be a further feature connecting this poem to the corpus of the 'Hesiodic' Heracles poems, though it is impossible to tell which episode was based on which. Both Pindar and Bacchylides seem to have known and imitated the *Wedding of Ceyx*, but it is difficult to say whether or not it was earlier

[65] Dornseiff 1921: 126 thought that Pindar's formulation of the passage was intentionally ambiguous: in Hesiod, Heracles had placed himself *on* the lion's skin. Pindar's expression ἐν ῥινῶι λέοντος στάντα initially suggests that the situation is the same, until the word περιπλανᾶται shows that Pindar has in fact changed this particular.

[66] Cf. von der Mühll 1957: 130–2 = 1976: 198–202, Thummer 1968: 1.182–3, 2.106; Privitera 1982: 208. It may be added that, in capital letters, ΓΑΜΟΝ might have easily been omitted by haplography after ΠΛΟΟΝ.

[67] One of the reasons adduced by Cole 1992: 66–7 against von der Mühll's supplement is that 'as a close friend of Telamon, Heracles would surely have been among the invited guests'.

[68] For a study of the preserved fragments, cf. Merkelbach and West 1965. Schwartz 1960: 144 had already noticed that the hospitality scene in fr. 250 'par quelques traits rappelle le *Mariage de Céyx*', without pursuing his observation further.

[69] The parallelism may be even closer if in *The Wedding of Ceyx* the king of Trachis took part in the campaign. Some sources state that Heracles defeated the Dryopes with the aid of the Malians (i.e. the inhabitants of Trachis): cf. above, n. 55.

than the *ME*.[70] In any case, the fragment attests that in the *ME* Heracles appeared in a longer episode, which must also have featured a speech of the hero (direct or reported).

The Argonautica fragments

The story of the Argonauts was already an ancient one for the author (and the characters) of the *Odyssey* (13.69–72). It was, obviously, known to the author of the *Catalogue*. When dealing with the descendants of Agenor, in the latter part of the Inachid stemma (Book 3), the poem devoted considerable space to the description of the exotic lands to which the Harpies, pursued by the sons of Boreas, carried the old blind man (frr. 150–7).[71] In the same context, as we have seen, his blindness was explained as the consequence of a choice (fr. 157): he had chosen a long life over keeping his sight. Phrixus and Jason were also mentioned within the Aeolid stemma in Books 1 and 2 (frr. 38–40 and 68–9). In most later sources, the Boreads meet Phineus on their journey to Colchis with the Argonauts, and it may have been so in the *Catalogue* also.[72] There is no evidence, however, that the *Catalogue* provided any coherent narration of the voyage, or any detailed exposition of other particular episodes.[73] Fr. 241 attributes to Hesiod the version according to which the Argonauts sailed back to Greece via Ocean and carried the ship on their shoulders through Libya. Merkelbach and West print this fragment in the *Catalogue*, while reporting the opinion of Malten and Wilamowitz that it belonged to the *ME*. West himself was subsequently inclined to follow them.[74] Apart from this, there are two fragments attributed to the *ME* relating to episodes of

[70] Cf. D'Alessio (this volume) pp. 233–4. The Telamon episode too may be seen as showing a pro-Theban perspective: Hdt. 5.79–81 and 89 tells how, at the end of the sixth century, Thebes, at war with Athens, was prompted by the Delphic oracle to seek an alliance with the Aeginetans, who sent first the 'Aeacids' and then armed men.

[71] For Apollonius' use of this passage cf. Hunter (this volume) pp. 245–6.

[72] Cf. however Hunter (this volume) p. 245. The earliest explicit connection between Phineus and the Boreads and Jason is a Corinthian vase of c. 575 (*LIMC s.v.* Boreadae 4 = Jason 7).

[73] Dräger 1993: 96–101 and, more clearly, 1997: 55 argues, on the basis of *Bibl.* and Pherecydes, that a narration of the saga must have appeared in the *Catalogue*, appended to the genealogy of Aeson, but, apart from fr. 241, there is no evidence pointing in this direction. The journey may have been referred to very quickly. In this case, *Bibl.* would have naturally recurred to other sources in order to fill an important gap (on the various sources used in *Bibl.* for this section, cf. Söder 1939: 134–56).

[74] Cf. their apparatus: 'hoc fragmentum ad Mecionicae et Euphemi Ehoeam (. . .) rettulerunt Malten (. . .) et Wilamowitz (. . .), non sine veritatis specie. tamen non ausi sumus locum non disertis verbis ex Magnis Ehoeis citatum ibi collocare'; West 1985a: 87 'very probably to be assigned to the Mekionike-Ehoie'.

the Argonautic saga (frr. 254–5), a third one very probably related to it (fr. 253), and a fourth one which mentioned the descendants of one of Phrixus' sons, who came back with the Argonauts (fr. 256). This makes up for almost a quarter of the fragments attributed to the *ME*. Fr. 255, as we have seen, provides an explanation for Phineus' blindness different from that given in the third book of the *Catalogue*. Fr. 254 mentioned Iophosse, daughter of Aietes, as Phrixus' wife. Fr. 256 is a story from Antoninus Liberalis' *Metamorphoses*, which names five poetic sources (including Hesiod in the *ME*) reported by one Pamphilos: it is not clear how much or, rather, how little of this story may go back to 'Hesiod', but the very least we can assume is that he mentioned Magnes as the son of Phrixus' son Argos.[75]

Fr. 253, the Mekionike-*ehoie*, poses a major problem, which has provoked radically divergent responses:

> ἢ οἵη Ὑρίηι πυκινόφρων Μηκιονίκη,
> ἣ τέκεν Εὔφημον γαιηόχωι Ἐννοσιγαίωι
> μιχθεῖσ' ἐν φιλότητι πολυχρύσου Ἀφροδίτης
>
> or as in Hyrie sound-minded Mekionike,
> who bore Euphemus to earth-holding Poseidon
> united with him in the love-making of golden Aphrodite

The three lines were cited in schol. Pind. *Pyth*. 4.36c Drachm. by the late second-century scholar Asclepiades of Myrlea in order to explain the reason why, in Pindar's version of the story, Euphemus receives from Eurypylus the clod, symbol of his future rule on Cyrene. As we know from schol. Pind. *Pyth*. 4.61 Drachm., Asclepiades did not think that Euphemus' genealogy was a satisfying explanation: Euphemus was a son of Poseidon, as was Eurypylus, but so were, among the Argonauts, also Periclymenus, Erginus and Ancaeus. Asclepiades pointed out that Euphemus had obtained from his father the power of walking over the sea. We can infer, therefore, that Asclepiades did not quote the Hesiodic fragment for its bit of genealogical lore,[76] but for the more general content of the episode. The debated point is whether this involved only the hero's magical ability to walk on the sea, or the whole story of his receiving in Libya a token of the future power of his descendants over that land. This second opinion has been maintained

[75] The Magnes mentioned in frr. 7 and 8 of the *Catalogue* (probably two distinct characters) is not identifiable with the son of Argos: cf. West 1985a: 53–4, with previous bibliography, and Dräger 1997: 46–51, 77–80. It is rather unlikely that the presence of Battos in this Thessalian story may be traced back to Hesiod, interesting as this may be for the Cyrenaean connection of his name. He probably comes from one of the Hellenistic sources mentioned in the heading.

[76] That Euphemus was the son of Poseidon is, in any case, clearly stated by Pindar himself in the ode: vv. 45 and 173–4.

by A. Kirchhoff,[77] Studniczka,[78] Malten,[79] Wilamowitz[80] and many other scholars. The first one has been defended by Chamoux,[81] Schwartz[82] and, most recently, Dräger.[83]

The question cannot be settled with any definitive certainty on the basis of the evidence available. I find it, nonetheless, much likelier that Euphemus was involved in the Libyan adventure already in 'Hesiod'. Euphemus regularly features in the preserved lists of the Argonauts, and it is reasonable to suppose that he was an Argonaut in 'Hesiod' too. Had he been a completely different character, it would be rather odd for Asclepiades to quote a passage involving a different Euphemus, born to the same god but by a different mother and in a different place, endowed with a magical power not mentioned by Pindar, and not involved in the Argonauts' Libyan adventure. In Pindar and later authors, he is the ancestor of the historical founder of Cyrene, Battos/Aristoteles.[84] We know that 'Hesiod' mentioned the Libyan diversion (fr. 241), and, as we have seen, many scholars have argued that this reference is to be attributed to the *ME* rather than to the *Catalogue*. Admittedly, the connection between these two pieces of information is not explicitly made in our ancient sources, but the likelihood that Euphemus featured in the Libyan episode seems much greater than the reverse, and his receiving in Libya the clod, or any other symbolic token, from Eurypylus (or an equivalent figure) would provide a good reason for Asclepiades' quotation.[85]

Mekionike seems to have appeared only in this Hesiodic fragment. Her genealogy is given by the same Pindaric scholia but at a different place (scholia Pind. *Pyth.* 4.15b Drachm.): ὁ δὲ Εὔφημος γίνεται παῖς Ποσειδῶνος καὶ Μηκιονίκης τῆς Εὐρώτα θυγατρός, ὃς ἔγημε θυγατέρα Ἀλκμήνης

[77] Kirchhoff 1879: 322–30. Kirchhoff follows Marckscheffel in believing that *Catalogue of Women* is the title of the first three books, while Books 4 and 5 were the *ME*. In this respect, and in many other details, his reconstruction has been superseded by later discoveries and research. In any case, he thought that the two poems did belong to different authors, and were roughly contemporary, and he attributed most of the fragments on Phineus to the treatment of his genealogy in Book 3, an arrangement accepted in the most recent editions.

[78] Studniczka 1890: 107–12. [79] Malten 1911: 154–63.

[80] Wilamowitz 1922: 385–6; Wilamowitz 1924: II 233, 236.

[81] Chamoux 1953: 84–5 criticises Malten's reconstruction of the *ehoie* on the basis of *Pythian* 4, stressing that Pindar gives a different mother to Euphemus. This does not seem to me a reason strong enough to deny that Euphemus was probably involved in the Libyan episode also in Hesiod.

[82] Schwartz 1960: 466–8. [83] Dräger 1993: 228–34.

[84] Cf. *Pyth.* 4. 13–63, Hdt. 4.150.2 (where Εὐφημίδης is Wesseling's conjecture for Εὐθυμίδης), Ap. Rhod. 4.1731–64, Vannicelli 1992: 54–7, 67–73, Malkin 1994: 174–81 (with previous bibliography).

[85] Cf. Kirchhoff 1879: 324: 'Der Hauptzug der Fabel, die Ueberreichung der Scholle an Euphemus an der Tritonis, ist zwar als hesiodisch nirgends ausdrücklich überliefert, allein Nr. 10 [= fr. 241 M.–W.] berechtigt nicht nur, sondern nöthigt geradezu, ihn als vorhanden vorauszusetzen'.

Λαονόμην (cf. also 79b): 'Euphemus is son of Poseidon and Mekionike, daughter of Eurotas; he married Laonome, Alcmene's daughter'. The only other source providing some information on this subject is Tzetzes, who gives a genealogy of Mekionike in his commentary to Lycophron (*ad* v. 886) and in *Chiliades* 2.613–15. In the first passage, Euphemus is said to be the son of Mekionike or of Doris,[86] the daughter of Eurotas,[87] while in the *Chiliades* he is the son of Doris[88] and Poseidon, or of Europa, daughter of Tityus (Pindar's version), or of Mekionike, daughter of Orion or of Eurotas. In both passages, Tzetzes adds that Euphemus married Laonome. It is very likely that he had access to a fuller version of the Pindaric scholia.[89] There are three possible combinations for Euphemus' mother, apart from Pindar's version: a Mekionike, daughter of Orion, a Mekionike, daughter of Eurotas, and a Doris, daughter of Eurotas. We do not know whether in the *ME* Mekionike was the daughter of Orion or of Eurotas. The first solution seems the most natural, since her *ehoie* places Euphemus' birth in Boeotia, at Hyrie, Orion's home town. Orion, too, was able to walk on the surface of the sea.[90] Euphemus' connection to Eurotas, however, is unlikely to have been due to a scribal mistake.[91] In Pindar's genealogy, too, Euphemus is a character floating between Boeotia and Laconia: he is born to Europa, Tityus' daughter, on the Cephisus river in Boeotia, but his home is Cape Taenarum in Laconia. That a genealogist may have made him a descendant of Laconian Eurotas born in Boeotia is certainly no mere mistake. It is, however, impossible to know whether this genealogist or a later author was the author of the Mekionike-*ehoie*. Euphemus' marriage to Laonome too may well go back to the *ME*,[92] as it fits very well with the general interest in the family of Heracles, which can be detected in this poem.[93]

[86] In the edition of M. C. G. Müller (Leipzig 1813) Δωρίδος is presented as a correction of L. Sebastian, confirmed by a single sixteenth century Vienna manuscript (the others having ὥριδος); to judge from Scheer's edition (Scheer 1908) Δωρίδος seems to be the transmitted text.

[87] Some of the manuscripts have Europa instead of Eurotas.

[88] Kiessling's correction for the transmitted Ὥριδος: cf. Kiessling 1826: 64.

[89] Only the Pindaric scholia are quoted by Merkelbach and West.

[90] I suspect that this genealogy may lie behind Corinna, *PMG* 655.14–17, where Libya is mentioned immediately after Orion and his fifty sons.

[91] Dräger 1993: 243 'Εὐρώτα/Δωρίδος (Ὥριδοc mss.) scheinen mir eher aus Ὡρίωνος bzw. Εὐρώπης verlesen'; a better explanation in Kiechle 1963: 26 n. 4, who reads this as an attempt to give Euphemus a Laconian origin.

[92] Cf. Dräger 1993: 248–9.

[93] In the scholia to Ap. Rhod. 1.1241, the husband of Laonome is another Argonaut, Polyphemus, who, in that context only, is said to have been a son of Poseidon. The notice probably derives from confusion, or a later overlap, between the two Argonauts with a similar name.

If, as we have assumed, Euphemus was indeed seen as the ancestor of the founders of Cyrene already in the *ME*, his relationship with the family of Heracles is particularly interesting. According to later sources, the Euphemidai, who played a leading part in the colonisation of Thera and Cyrene, came to Laconia from Lemnos, together with the other Minyans, descendants of the Argonauts and of the Lemnian women.[94] It is not clear whether the *ME* knew the Lemnian episode of the Argonauts: if not, the *ME* may have presented the ancestors of the colonisers as the descendants of a Laconian (?) hero born in Boeotia, married to a sister of Heracles, a lineage close to that of the Spartan kings themselves. But even if the *ME*, as seems more likely, did know the tradition according to which the colonisers of Thera and Cyrene were the descendants of Euphemus and a Lemnian woman, Euphemus' link to Laconian Eurotas would have been of great importance, providing his offspring with a good Laconian pedigree. The Minyans' ethnic identity is crucial in Herodotus' account of their arrival in Laconia (4.145.4–5):[95] they asked to be accepted because they were 'coming back to their fathers', which, according to Herodotus, the Spartans understood in relation to the fact that the Spartan Tyndarids had also taken part in the Argonautic expedition (although their role as ancestors of the Theran and Cyrenaean colonisers is never mentioned in ancient sources).[96] The subsequent relations between the two groups are described as very strained, and the colonisation of Thera is presented as the natural outcome of this situation (Hdt. 4.146–8). In such a context, Euphemus' Laconian origin was bound to be a relevant issue, and it would be very interesting to know with greater certainty whether this may have been part of the 'political agenda' of the *ME*.

If Euphemus was involved in the Libyan episode, Cyrene's foundation (mid-seventh century) offers a *terminus post quem* for the composition of the *ME*.[97]

Laconian and/or Boeotian concerns?

The possibility that Euphemus' story may have reflected a Laconian perspective is only a very speculative argument. At least one other passage from the poem, however, does seem to show a clear pro-Laconian bias.

[94] On the Lemnian episode, cf. Giannini in Gentili 1995: 442, 496–500, D'Alessio 2000: 103 n. 47.
[95] On the ethnic issue, cf. Corcella 1993: 336, with previous bibliography.
[96] Cf. Prontera 1978/9: 163–5.
[97] For another, uncertain, chronological indication, cf. also fr. 257 (Hyettus) discussed below, p. 201. It is possible that the Cyrene-*ehoie* (frr. 215–16) also belongs to the *ME*: cf. below, pp. 206–7.

Pausanias 2.2.3 (fr. 258) says that, according to the *ME*, the father of the famous Corinthian spring Peirene was Oebalus, a character belonging to the genealogy of the earliest Laconian kings, and father of Tyndareus (cf. fr. 199.8). The tradition is isolated, but it is very unlikely that Peirene was confused with another better-known daughter of Oebalus, Arene, namesake of an Elean spring and a Messenian city.[98] It is possible, on the other hand, that the similarity of the two names may have given rise to their pairing in a genealogical poem. Tracing the important Corinthian spring back to a Laconian origin is an odd feature, which seems to reflect a remarkable pro-Lacedaemonian bias.[99]

The fact that the *ME* stressed the Heracleid origin of the eponymous hero of a Boeotian city (Chaeroneia: fr. 252), possibly gave a Laconian lineage to a hero born at Hyrie (fr. 253), and made him Heracles' brother-in-law, may be read as the result of a general project to emphasise the Heracleid origin of most Boeotian towns. This would be not without consequences in a region where Theban supremacy was constantly threatened. We know of an obscure Spartan attempt in the late-sixth century to interfere in the relations between Thebes and Plataea (Hdt. 6.108.2: 519–18; cf. Thucyd. 3.55.1): this is, however, too feeble a basis for supposing an active Lacedaemonian interest in the region or, even more, for imagining this as a possible political scenario for the *ME*. It may also be argued that the focus on Heracleid Boeotia in our scanty fragments (remarkable in itself) may more plausibly be seen as representing the interests of Thebes, where Heracles was considered a local hero.[100] Summing up, most of the fragments attributed to the poem can be seen as clustered around the following themes: Heracles (248–50), the future of his offspring in Boeotia and central Greece (251a and b, 252), and the Argonauts (253, perhaps also connected to the family of Heracles, 254–6). Other fragments, on the other hand, may conceivably be read as privileging a Laconian perspective (253, 258).

A further Boeotian fragment (fr. 257) also connects the obscure hero Hyettus with Argos (or, as epic usage would allow, more generically with

[98] Dräger 1997: 85 'hat er (sc. Oebalus) eine Tochter Arene – sollte das die Peirene der 'Grossen Eoien' sein?'. On the function of Arene in the Spartan genealogy, cf. Calame 1987: 169 and 184 n. 37.

[99] It seems that from the second half of the sixth century, Corinth and Sparta had agreed some sort of alliance: cf. Salmon 1984: 240–52. Relationships between the two cities were not good under the Cypselids, while information about Corinthian aid to Sparta in the first and second Messenian wars, under the Bacchiads, has been considered doubtful (Salmon 1984: 68–70 n. 61). On Corinth's alliance with Sparta in the late-sixth century, cf. Tausend 1992: 169–71. For the mention of Hippotes, connected to the Heracleid capture of Corinthus, cf. above pp. 190–1, on fr. 252. In some sources, Peirene is a daughter of Asopus: for the place of his genealogy in the *Catalogue*, cf. West 1985a: 100–3.

[100] Cf. also above, n. 70, on Heracles and Telamon in fr. 250.

the north-eastern Peloponnese). The exile of Hyettus, who had killed his wife's lover, from Argolis to Orchomenus, where he was welcomed by Orchomenus, the son of Minyas, is probably modelled upon that of Amphitryon, who, after having killed his father-in-law, moved from the Argolis to Thebes.[101] Hyettus was an independent city in the sixth century: its defeat by the Thebans is attested by an inscribed bronze legging from Olympia, reading Θε̄βαῖοι τὸν *h*υε̄τίο̄ν.[102] Etienne and Knoepfler have argued that the city itself may have been founded between 650 and 550, on the basis of the omission of its name from the Homeric Catalogue of Ships, and of the archaeological evidence, which offers nothing earlier than the archaic period.[103] The issue is very uncertain, but this, together with the possible link to Cyrene in the Mekionike-*ehoie*, would point to a sixth-century date for the poem. We know very little about Boeotian political issues at that time, and can read only very few fragments of the poem, but its genealogical focus on the minor Boeotian towns was probably not without some connection with the geo-political interests at stake in the region. Genealogical poetry served political purposes, but the evidence here is very meagre and, in my opinion, no firm conclusions can be drawn.

The Argolis

Two further fragments focus on the Argolis. Fr. 246 (Paus. 2.16.4) presents Mycene as the daughter of Inachus and the wife of Arestor. Inachus' lineage was the second great family dealt with in the *Catalogue*. If Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 2.1.1 followed its main source also in this detail, in the *Catalogue* the river was the father of Phoroneus and Aegialeus.[104] Mycene is an obscure figure. In archaic poetry, she briefly appears in *Odyssey* 2.120, a very interesting passage in which Antinous praises Penelope by comparing her to Tyro, Alcmene and Mycene. This presupposes the existence of older poetic stories about the heroine, presumably already in a catalogic context. Alcmene and Tyro both featured in the catalogue of the *nekuia* (*Od.* 11.235–59 and 266–70) and in the *Catalogue* (frr. 30–3a; fr. 195.8–56). Mycene was mentioned also in the *Cycle* (cf. scholia *Od.* 2.120),[105] where her mother was the Oceanid

[101] Cf. Schwartz 1960: 468.

[102] Cf. Etienne and Knoepfler 1976: 215–16, with previous bibliography; *SEG* 24.300.

[103] Etienne and Knoepfler 1976: 212. It is interesting that two of the Boeotian towns mentioned in *ME*, Hyettos and Chaeroneia, were absent from the Homeric Catalogue.

[104] Phoroneus was certainly present in the *Catalogue*, fr. 10b, where one of his daughters seems to have been Dorus' wife.

[105] Conjecturally attributed to the *Nostoi* (fr. 9 Bernabé = fr. incert. 6 Davies), which, according to Paus. 10.28.7, included a *nekuia*. On the relationship between the various genealogies, cf. Severyns

nymph Melie (mother of Phoroneus and Aegialeus in Apollodorus, *Bibl.*, and, perhaps, also in the *Catalogue*). In the *Cycle*, Mycene's and Arestor's son was Argos. According to Pherecydes (fr. 66 Fowler) this Argos, son of Arestor, son of Phorbas, was the watchman of Io. There are however, several characters called Argos in the stemma.[106] The Argives are called Arestoridai in Call. *h.* 5.34, and I would argue that in the *ME* and the *Cycle* Arestor's son was, in fact, not, or not only, the many-eyed watchman but the eponymous hero of the city. Pherecydes, who had already exploited the eponymous hero three generations before Arestor, may have been responsible for the change (or he may have followed the *Catalogue* in this). In this case, in the *ME*, Arestor must have been his nominal father, the real one being Zeus (cf. fr. 247).[107] If this was the version followed in the *ME*, the role of Mycene in the poem might have roughly coincided with that of Niobe in the *Catalogue*.[108] The earliest stages of the Inachid stemma in the *Catalogue* are very obscure, and can be only conjecturally reconstructed. Mycene's stemmatic position in the *ME* seems to be very high indeed, comparable to that of her brother Phoroneus in the *Catalogue*: in the Inachid branch, he is the first man (a role similar to that of Deucalion in Book 1) and his daughter Niobe, according to Acusilaus (fr. 25 Fowler), was the first woman to have sex with Zeus. It may be argued, however, that Mycene, daughter of two immortal parents, Inachus and Melie, may have been born at a later generation than her brothers, thus being able to marry a 'mobile' character like Arestor later on in the genealogical tree.[109] In introducing her, the *ME* must have drawn on older material, which in the *Catalogue* had either been overlooked, or, possibly, inserted in a different stemmatic position (the fact that Pausanias cites the *ME* does not imply *e silentio* that Mycene did not appear in the *Catalogue* as well). The genealogy of Epidaurus from Argos, son of Zeus (fr. 247), on the other hand, corresponds with that given in Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 2.1.2, and may have been featured in the *Catalogue* as well, though in that case Argos must have been Niobe's son. Thus, a possible stemma for the *ME* and the *Cycle* is as follows:

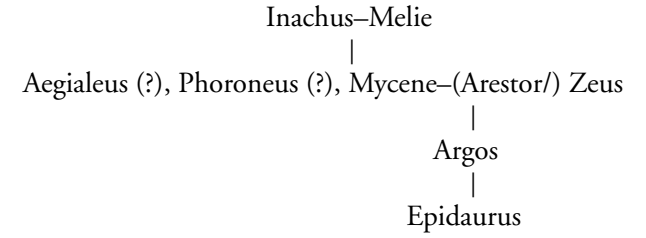
1928: 395–8. His inference that the genealogy was more complete in the *Cycle* than in the *ME* seems unlikely: *ME* must have certainly mentioned Mycene's mother and her son.

[106] In Ap. Rhod. 1.12, 335, Argos the son of Arestor is the builder of the Argonauts' ship. A further Argos, son of Phrixus, husband of Perimele and father of Magnes, may be attributed to the *ME* on the basis of fr. 256.

[107] The fact that Mycene is mentioned together with Tyro and Alcmene in *Od.* 2.120 strongly suggests, in any case, that she too was known to have been the partner of a god.

[108] The evidence for Niobe in the *Catalogue* is however largely conjectural, cf. West 1985a: 76. For a survey of the 'genealogies of the Argolid', cf. Fowler 1998: 7–8; in Hall 1997: 77–83 the information from the *ME* is conflated with that conjecturally attributed to the *Catalogue*.

[109] On Arestor, see *RE* 2. col. 668, Stuttgart 1895, *s.v.* 'Arestor' 1.



A further fragment from an Argive–Mycenaean context is to be recognised in fr. 363A, a passage of Philodemus' *De Pietate* dealing with Perseus and the Gorgon, probably derived from Apollodorus of Athens.[110] Philodemus' text is lacunose, and we do not exactly know which version was attributed to the *ME*, but it certainly implies that the story was present there. Perseus' entry is preserved in two papyri attributed to the *Catalogue*: in the first (fr. 129), he is barely mentioned in a swift survey of Hypermestra's descendants; the second is probably part of a short Danae-*ehoie* (fr. 135), which, according to West, has been appended to the main genealogy in order to supply some additional information on Perseus.[111] Even here, though, there are only four verses offering the sketchiest summary of his birth, his marriage to Andromeda, and his offspring. There is no space at all for a mention of the Gorgon episode. Neither was she mentioned on the occasion where Pegasus is introduced, in fr. 43a.84–6.[112] It thus looks as though the *ME* might have devoted more space than the *Catalogue* to Mycenae and its local hero, Heracles' ancestor.

Fr. 262, where Scylla is said to have been the daughter of Hecate and Phorbas, may also be related to the Argive genealogy, since Phorbas is another mobile character who features in that stemma:[113] according to Pherecydes (fr. 66 Fowler) he was indeed the father of Arestor. Nevertheless, Phorbas is a name which pops up in the most amazingly different contexts in Greek mythography,[114] and his paternity of Scylla may perhaps point in a different direction, namely towards Thessaly and the Dodecanese. Hyginus *Astr.* 2.14.4 knows a Phorbas, son of Triopas and of a daughter of Myrmidon, whose name is transmitted as *hisc(h)ela*, and printed as *Hiscilla* by the editors.[115] The two names sound very similar, and the two characters may, perhaps, in some way be related.

[110] Cf. above, pp. 177–8; Henrichs 1977. [111] Cf. West 1985a: 82.

[112] On her role as Poseidon's lover, which, as I argue, might have been mentioned also in the *ME*, cf. below, p. 211.

[113] Cf. *RE* 20. coll. 527–30, Stuttgart 1941, *s.v.* 'Phorbas' 1. [114] Cf. *ibid.* coll. 527–31.

[115] The source is Polyzelus of Rhodes, *FGrHist* 521 F 7. Phorbas is Apollo's lover in Hyginus, in Plut. *Numa* 4.8, and, perhaps, already in the mysterious catalogue of Apollo's wooings of *HHApollo* 211, where it is not clear whether the hero is not rather a rival of Apollo (cf. also D'Alessio, this volume,

Elis

Fr. 260 offers a unique[116] version of Endymion's myth (cf. above, p. 180, for the text). As we have already seen, Endymion's entry in the *Catalogue* is preserved in fr. 10a.60–3. In the *ME*, his story is remarkably similar to Ixion's, which is known from several other sources, though none earlier than Pindar's *Pythian* 2.[117] Given Pindar's known familiarity with the *ME*, it is theoretically arguable that his treatment of Ixion has been modelled on that of Endymion in the *ME*. It is, however, unlikely that the huge fortune of the story of Ixion is entirely due to Pindar's ode, and the existence of an earlier version is to be assumed.[118] Ixion is never mentioned in any part of the preserved Hesiodic corpus, and the stemmatic position of the Lapiths in the *Catalogue* is unclear.[119] There is no doubt, however, that they did appear in the poem, since the story of Caeneus is attributed to 'Hesiod' by Phlegon, *FGrHist* 257 F 36 (= Hes. fr. 86), and POxy 2495 fr. 3 (from a papyrus preserving fragments of the *Catalogue* and of the *Wedding of Ceyx*, plus some unattributable ones) seems to belong to that section. The attribution of the Coronis-*ehoie* to the *Catalogue* is a notorious problem,[120] but it has to be mentioned in this context, since, in some sources, she was Ixion's sister.

A further *ME* fragment dealing with Elean stories is fr. 259a and b, with the list of Hippodameia's suitors killed by Oenomaos, which has already been discussed.[121]

p. 219). Jacoby *ad loc.* thinks that Hyginus has contaminated Polyzelus with other material which 'wohl aus einer sammlung von Ἔρωτες ἢ Καλοί stammt'.

[116] The closest version is that attributed by the same source to Epimenides (fr. 12 Fowler), where, however, Endymion is not thrown into Hades but punished with eternal sleep. Note that also in the case of fr. 259a Epimenides (fr. 17 Fowler) is quoted for a version similar to that of the *ME*, but the evidence is dubious (cf. above, pp. 181–2). Mele 2001: 262–4 argues that in both cases Epimenides followed the *ME*, which offered an anti-Elean version of the saga. For a further dubious case where the *ME* and Epimenides are quoted together, cf. fr. 255 (four sons of Phrixus and Iophosse, if the list does not refer to Ap. Rhod.) and fr. 15 Fowler (five sons, four of them coinciding with the previous list). The *ME* and Epimenides are quoted together twice in the scholia to Ap. Rhod. and once in those to Pindar. In the scholia to Apollonius, Acusilaus too is quoted in the same context, suggesting that all this material may go back to the same erudite source. Schwartz 1960: 166 argued that that source is Asclepiades of Myrlea, and that the scholia quoted the *ME* instead of the *Catalogue* only because Asclepiades knew the poem under this name. Note, however, that Acusilaus and Epimenides are often quoted alongside other mythographic sources (including various 'Hesiodic' poems) in Philodemus' *De Pietate*, who probably draws from Apollodorus, and there is no reason to think that the *ME*–Epimenides connection was a peculiarity of Asclepiades.

[117] Pindar is also the only authority quoted in the scholia to *Od.* 21.303 (which go back to the *mythographus Homericus*).

[118] Pictorial representations of his punishment on a wheel in heaven are attested already in the late-sixth century: cf. C. Lochin in *LIMC* 5.1 *s.v.* 'Ixion', nn. 8–11. We cannot be sure that he is punished for his attempt to seduce or rape Hera, but this is more than likely.

[119] Cf. West 1985a: 71–2, 85–6, Dräger 1997: 50, 63–4, 79–80.

[120] On which, more below, pp. 208–10.

[121] Cf. pp. 181–2.

The story of the seer Melampous, attested in fr. 261, had already been briefly told twice in the *Odyssey* (11.287–97 and 15.224–40) and was a frequent subject in the 'Hesiodic' corpus, appearing not only in the *ME*, but also in the *Catalogue* (fr. 37, and, for its Argive part, frr. 129–33) and in the *Melampodia* (frr. 270(?), 271).[122] It is clear that the fragment attributed to the *Catalogue* mentioned the story only very briefly, using in part a wording remarkably similar to that of the *Odyssey* passage. In the relevant genealogical slot of the *Catalogue*, there seems to be no space for the story attributed to the *ME*. Some additional information may have been provided when dealing with the genealogy of Phylacus and Iphiclus, but, since the story is important in the first place to explain the origin of Melampous' prophetic gift, it would have perhaps been more appropriately mentioned in his genealogy. It seems possible that the *ME* offered a more detailed version than the *Catalogue*, though many other more or less similar ones were clearly circulating at the time.

CONCLUSIONS, AND FURTHER PROBLEMS

The evidence examined so far suggests that the *ME* should be treated as a poem in its own right. It may have been a completely separate poem from the *Catalogue*, though the possibility that it may have grown out of the *Catalogue*, or that it may have shared some parts with it, cannot be ruled out. Even in this second case, however, the differences we can detect are such that the hypothetical new version would present a substantially different focus and balance. If the conclusions drawn on the basis of the fragments on Mekionike and Hyettus are not too misleading, the poem may not be much earlier than the sixth century. If the information provided by the scholia on its use by Pindar is to be trusted, it must have been current by the first quarter of the fifth century. A limited number of sources quote the poem,[123] and it may have been less widely read in later times than the *Catalogue*, though Pindar seems to have alluded to its contents more often than to the *Catalogue* itself. No source ever quotes the poem with an indication of the number of a book: if it had a limited circulation, it is conceivable that no standard book division had imposed itself.

[122] Cf. Löffler 1963: 33–7. On the relations with *Bibl.* 1.96–102, cf. Söder 1939: 124–7.

[123] These are schol. Antoninus Liberalis (fr. 256), the anonymous commentator to Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 3.7 (frr. 248–9), the scholia to Pindar (frr. 250 and 253), the scholia to Ap. Rhod. (frr. 254, 255, 260, 261, 262) and Pausanias (frr. 246–7, 251b, 252, 257, 258, 259a). To this list, Philodemus, *De Piet.* must be added (fr. 363A M.–W.). Cohen 1986: 129 n. 8 lists fifteen sources citing Hesiod's *Catalogue* or *Ehoiai*; four of these (the scholia to Pindar and Apollonius Rhodius, Pausanias, Philodemus) cite both poems.

A crucial and thorny issue has been pointed out by Cohen.[124] The editorial policy of Merkelbach and West was to give to the *Catalogue* almost all the genealogical fragments attributed simply to 'Hesiod', even when they come from sources which quote more often, if not solely, the *ME*, when they do in fact mention a title. How can we be sure that some of the fragments not explicitly attributed to the *Catalogue* do not belong, in fact, to the *ME*?

Cyrene

An interesting case mentioned by Cohen is that of the Cyrene-*ehoie* (frr. 215–17 M.–W.).[125] In *Pythian* 9, Pindar narrates how Apollo saw the huntress Cyrene in Thessaly, fell in love with her and brought her to Libya, where she gave birth to Aristaeus. According to the scholia to v. 6, the story of Cyrene is taken from the *Ehoie*, whose first two lines are quoted (fr. 215). In all other cases where the scholia to Pindar quote a catalogic 'Hesiodic' work by its title, they always refer to the *ME* (frr. 250, 253). In this case, the adjective 'great' is not used, but, after all, the commentator is quoting a single *ehoie*: how would he have referred to it, had it been a section of the 'Great' ones? We cannot take for granted that the adjective would have been applied also to its separate sections. Cyrene's *ehoie* has always been a stumbling-block for any attempt at dating the *Catalogue*. At first sight, it seems to presuppose the foundation of the Libyan city and thus a date not earlier than the late seventh century. It has been argued, however, that in Hesiod's version the nymph Cyrene had nothing to do with the city, and that in the poem the nymph remained in Thessaly.[126] Two other fragments (216–17) are relevant, though they refer only to the story of Cyrene's son, Aristaeus, and say nothing about the Libyan location: Servius' commentary to Virgil, *Georg*. 1.14 (fr. 216) simply refers to 'Hesiod', and fr. 217 is provided by a single papyrus fragment, which may come from either poem. Leaving aside the problem of the date of the *Catalogue*, the attribution to the *ME* of a Cyrene-*ehoie* located in Libya does not raise particular chronological problems, and would certainly provide a nice parallel for the Mekionike-*ehoie*, which also clearly presupposes the foundation of Cyrene.

Cyrene is mentioned in a long list of women loved by Apollo in a passage of Philodemus, *De Pietate*, preserved in *PHerc* 243 iii (p. 190a in the OCT; col. 277 ll. 7454–80 Obbink) and apparently based on Hesiod.[127] The list

[124] Cohen 1986: 133 n. 17, 135, 138. [125] Cf. Cohen 1986: 134.
[126] Cf. e.g. Lübbert 1881: 7, with previous bibliography; Janko 1982: 248 n. 38; Dräger 1993: 221–8; *contra* West 1985a: 85–8, 132.
[127] Cf. West 1985b, Luppe 1984.

includes Euboie (not otherwise attested for Hesiod), Philonis (cf. fr. 64.13–18), Arsinoe (fr. 50), Akakallis (not otherwise attested for Hesiod), Cyrene, Aithousa (fr. 185.1–7),[128] Astreis (fr. 185.8ff.) and Epicaste, the mother of Trophonius (cf. scholia Ar. *Clouds* 508a).[129] There are some interesting omissions: Coronis, Thero (the only woman loved by Apollo known to have been mentioned in the *ME*: fr. 252), Pronoe, mother of Melaneus in fr. 26.26, and, understandably enough, the anonymous mother of Ileus mentioned in the obscure fr. 235. It is possible that Philodemus (or his source, Apollodorus) is contaminating two poems, but it is perhaps more likely that the women mentioned appeared in the *Catalogue* or in the *ME*. In either case, the list cannot be exhaustive: if it is from the *ME* it lacks Thero, and if it is from the *Catalogue* it lacks Pronoe. It would not be impossible, theoretically, to argue that frr. 64 and 185 should be attributed to the *ME*.[130] Fr. 185, however, is represented by three different papyri (POxy 2496, 2497 and *PMilVogl* IV.204), and, as we have seen above, only two papyri have been identified as possible copies of the *ME*, while approximately fifty papyri have been attributed to the *Catalogue*. The odds are against the three papyri all being copies of the same passage of the far less read poem. In any case, some characters must have appeared in both poems: if this was the case for Philonis, Aithousa and Astreis, it may be argued that Philodemus' list was based on the *ME*, leaving frr. 64 and 185 to the *Catalogue*. Aristaeus (Cyrene's son in all later versions) is attested as father of Actaeon in the *Catalogue* (fr. 217A). This is hardly surprising in itself, since he appears also at *Theogony* 977. No other mother is known for Aristaeus but Cyrene, and it is reasonable to assume that she must have at least been mentioned in the *Catalogue*. Even so, it may be argued that in the *Catalogue* she appeared not in her own *ehoie* but in a simple genealogical sequence, without the extended narration imitated by Pindar, which may have belonged to the *ME*. If there was no Cyrene *ehoie* in the *Catalogue*, there would be no ambiguity in the way the Pindaric scholia refer to the episode.

[128] Cf. above, p. 184.

[129] I am grateful to D. Obbink, who has kindly sent me a copy of the relevant portions of his forthcoming edition of *De Pietate*. Obbink has shown that the catalogue of Apollo's lovers did not go on into the next column (*PHerc* 243 ii), where the women loved by Hermes were listed, and that it was preceded by that of Poseidon.

[130] There is a difference between fr. 185.6–7, where Aithousa's lineage stops with Iasion, and fr. 251a.10–11, from the *ME*, where his son Chaeresilaus is mentioned (cf. above, n. 27). I doubt, however, whether, on this basis alone, it may be argued that the two fragments cannot belong to the same poem, though this is certainly not a point in favour of such attribution.

Coronis and Arsinoe

Philodemus' list of the women loved by Apollo also includes Arsinoe, and this is one of the most vexed problems for any reconstruction of the *Catalogue*.[131] Two completely different versions of the birth of Asclepius are attributed to 'Hesiod'. According to one, Coronis, daughter of Phlegyas, was loved by Apollo, but married Ischys, thus incurring the god's wrath. This was, by far, the best-known version of Asclepius' birth in antiquity, starting from Pindar's memorable narration in *Pythian* 3. No source, however, explicitly says that in Hesiod Coronis was the mother of Asclepius. In no quotation is the title of Hesiod's work given, but a papyrus fragment written by the same hand as two other *Catalogue* fragments (frr. 10a.55–65, 91–103 and 25.21–5) preserves three lines from the beginning of an *ehoie* (fr. 59) with the description of a woman almost certainly to be identified with Coronis.[132] In the other version, the mother of Asclepius is Arsinoe, daughter of Leucippus. Crates of Mallos (fr. 80 Broggiato) mentions a further episode of the story, Apollo's killing of the Cyclopes as retaliation for the death of Asclepius, and attributes it to ὁ τῶν Λευκιππίδων κατάλογος (= Hesiod fr. 52).[133] Since the end of the nineteenth century, scholars have attempted to get rid of the problem by attributing only the Coronis- or the Arsinoe-*ehoie* to the *Catalogue*. The second option, first formulated by Leo 1894: 351, who attributed the Coronis-*ehoie* to the *ME*, raises serious difficulties on the basis of the evidence available today. Fragment 59 was part of the same work as frr. 10 and 25, both of which, being represented by several papyri, would bring with them a large number of other fragments (some of them involving still more papyri); this would imply giving to the *ME* at least frr. 17a, 23a, 25–6, 30, 33a, 35–6, and 79–86. The other alternative involves assuming that Crates might have used the expression ὁ τῶν Λευκιππίδων κατάλογος to indicate, not the *Catalogue*, but another poem or a section of the *ME*.[134] Another possible obstacle might be seen

[131] There is a huge secondary literature: here, I refer only to Wilamowitz 1886; Edelstein and Edelstein 1945: 24–34; Solimano 1976; West 1985a; Dräger 1997: 67–112, with previous bibliography.

[132] The passage closely resembles the description of Coronis in Pindar, Pherecydes, the *Homeric Hymn to Asclepius* and Apollonius Rhodius: cf. Dräger 1997: 67–8.

[133] The fact that Pausanias 2.26.7 (fr. 50 M.–W.) says that the Arsinoe episode was the work 'of Hesiod or of one of those who had composed the lines inserting them in Hesiod's works in order to do the Messenians a favour' does not tell us very much. In Pausanias' opinion, the only work certainly by Hesiod was the *Works and Days* (without the proem). The Coronis version too is quoted in the scholia to Pind. *Pyth.* 3.14 Drachm. as from the 'lines attributed to Hesiod'.

[134] The expression Ἡσίοδος καταλέγων τοὺς μνηστῆρας Ἑλένης (fr. 202) in scholia *Il.* 19.240 is thought to refer to a passage of Book 5 of the *Catalogue* (West 1985a: 43). Wilamowitz 1886 and 1905 thought that the *Catalogue of the Daughters of Leucippus* was a separate poem; Dräger 1997: 85–6

in the absence of Coronis from Philodemus' list. We have seen, however, that this list may theoretically be construed as drawing from either poem.

A different solution is to imagine that the *Catalogue* circulated in a form which may have included both alternative versions of the same episode.[135] This may either (1) have been the same poem known as the *ME*,[136] or (2) may have simply been a version of the *Catalogue* with a few later additions.[137] Hypothesis (1) would imply that the Coronis episode was not present in the shorter *Catalogue.* POxy 2483 would therefore represent a copy of the expanded *Catalogue* = *ME*, which would have included also frr. 10a and 25. I have already examined, above, the evidence (admittedly not conclusive) that suggests that the *Catalogue* and the *ME* were two separate poems. As for the second possibility, it is difficult to rule it out.[138] Coronis' case, however, would be the only serious inconsistency emerging in the structure of the work. The general reconstruction of a coherent and well-designed work, exemplified in the most articulated way in West's book,[139] seems still to stand on firm ground.

West's own solution (a modification of Leo's) suggests that the woman described in fr. 59 was not Coronis, but Phlegyas' mother (Coronis' grandmother), and that the story of Coronis was told in some other 'Hesiodic' work.[140] This looks like an artificial way out of the problem, though at the present state of knowledge there are not many other possibilities for 'preserving the phenomena'. The solution, which attributes Coronis to the *Catalogue* and Arsinoe to the *ME*, is, however, in my opinion more economical. The only difficulty is presented by Crates' quotation, but this may possibly have referred to the *ME*, even unambiguously so, if the daughters of Leucippus did not appear in the *Catalogue*. Pausanias, writing in the second century AD, could not help feeling that the Arsinoe version must

thinks it refers to the *ME* (though in Dräger 1993: 228 n. 246 and 213 n. 202, he had maintained that the poems were identical). A papyrus fragment attributable to the *Catalogue* (fr. 54a) and the fact that Philodemus gives the episode to 'Hesiod' (fr. 54b: he seems to have thought that the *ME* was not by Hesiod, cf. above, p. 178) strongly suggest that the Cyclopes episode was present in the *Catalogue*. If Crates was referring to another poem, it must have featured in both places. In favour of the attribution to the *ME*, Dräger notes that the anonymous hexameters on Arsinoe of fr. 60 come from the same source as the Mekionike-*ehoie* (fr. 253), namely Asclepiades, via the Pindar scholia: cf. above, p. 177.

[135] Cf., for example, Wilamowitz 1905: 123–4; Edelstein 1945: 24–34; Ercolani 2001.

[136] Casanova 1979b: 239–40.

[137] For such a general position, cf. March 1987: 157 n. 11, allowing 'the possibility of some passages being later interpolations, even in the case of such a structurally "tight" and unified poem as West posits'.

[138] We may imagine that the Coronis-*ehoie* was present in the current edition of the *Catalogue*, though marked by *obeloi*, explaining why Philodemus' source did not include it in his list.

[139] Cf. e.g. also Schmitt 1975: 31.

[140] West 1985a: 71–2.

have been pro-Messenian.[141] The famous shrine of Asclepius in Messene, a focal point in the newly founded city after the fourth century BC, was, however, preceded by an archaic temple.[142] In the sixth century, both the cult at Mount Ithome and the Arsinoe version would probably have been perceived not so much as Messenian as Laconian. Arsinoe and the other daughters of Leucippus were the objects of important cults in Sparta[143] and were felt as belonging to local genealogies.[144] If the Arsinoe episode was present in the *ME*, this would be a further case reflecting a possibly Laconian perspective.

Two lists in Philodemus and the ME

The evidence provided by the list of Apollo's lovers in Philodemus, as we have seen, is ambiguous. If the list follows the *Catalogue* and was exhaustive, it must have been based on an edition without the Coronis episode. If it was based on the *ME*, it cannot have been exhaustive, since Thero is omitted. Obbink has shown that Apollo's list was preceded by Poseidon's (*PHerc* 1602 vi + 243 iii col. i; col. 276 ll. 7431–46 Obbink).[145] The two lists are preceded by one of Zeus's lovers and followed by the list for Hermes. In Zeus's and Hermes' lists, various authorities are quoted, while in Apollo's and Poseidon's, no source is named, and, as Luppe and Obbink have noticed, both of them seem to draw mainly or only on 'Hesiod'.[146] Poseidon's list, as reconstructed by Luppe and Obbink, included [Amym]one, [Iphime]di[a], [Callirrh]oe, Lapetheia, Methone, the two Pleiads A[lkyone] and Celaeno, [Ca]ly[c]e, Me[ki]onike, Lao[dicei]a, T[yr]o, Polyboea, and Gorg[o]. Schober had already drawn attention to the similarity to a catalogue of lovers of Neptunus in Ovid, *Her.* 19.129–35, which offers Amymone, Tyro, Alkyone, Calyce (Heinsius' conjecture, based upon Hyginus, *Fab.* 157), Medousa, Laodice and Celaeno.[147] Poseidon's lovers attested in the *Catalogue* fragments include: Canace (? fr. 10a.102–6),[148] the mother of the Molione (fr. 17a.13), Iphimedeia (fr. 19, the pertinent fragments about

[141] Quoted above, n. 133.

[142] Cf. Themelis 2002: 83, mentioning remains from the seventh and sixth centuries, and Siapkas 2003: 69 and 158–60, who discusses the interpretation of the remains by P. Themelis, *Heroes kai Heroa sti Messene* (Athens 2000, which I have not seen).

[143] As also was Asclepius: cf. Solimano 1976: 73–7.

[144] The fact that Messenian traditions in great part elaborate Laconian ones is well known. For different interpretations of this phenomenon, cf. Alcock 2002: 132–75, 180–2 and Luraghi 2002. For a wide-ranging discussion of the issue cf. Siapkas 2003.

[145] Cf. Luppe 1986, Obbink 2004. [146] Obbink 2004. [147] Schober 1988: 105.

[148] For alternatives, including the mother of the Molione and Iphimedeia, cf. Parsons–Sijpsteijn–Worp 1981: 19.

her mention only 'Hesiod' and not explicitly the *Catalogue*), Tyro (frr. 30–3), Mestra (fr. 43a.55), Eurynome (fr. 43a.81), Caeneus/Caenis (frr. 87–8), a relative of Oecles (fr. 136.16–18, name lost in lacuna),[149] Arethousa (frr. 188A and 244, attributed to 'Hesiod').[150] Of the women present in Philodemus' list, Tyro is the only one who was certainly mentioned in the *Catalogue*, and Iphimedeia was probably there too. According to the reconstruction of Merkelbach and West, the Pleiads must have featured in the *Catalogue* (fr. 169, transmitted without attribution), in which case Celaeno and Alkyone too (cf. fr. 184) may have been mentioned as Poseidon's partners. There is no evidence for the presence in the *Catalogue* of the other women. Laodiceia appears only in the Ovid passage; Calyce appears as lover of Poseidon (and mother of Cycnus, Priam's ally: fr. 237) only in Ovid, Hyginus and the scholia to Theocritus 16.49 and Pindar, *Ol.* 2.147b.[151] The Calyce of fr. 10a.59–60 must be a different character: she is Aeolus' daughter and marries Endymion's father, probably Aethlius, and there is no space for her union with Poseidon. Poseidon's lover, moreover, is the daughter of a Hecataeon according to Hyginus and Ovid (Heinsius' correction), who follows either Philodemus or his source. Callirhoe – a name restored by Obbink: Καλλιρρ]όη̣[ι – appears as Poseidon's lover only in schol. Pindar, *Ol.* 14.5c, where she is daughter of Ocean (as in *Theogony* 288, 351, 981) and mother of Minyas. If her name has been rightly restored, she would be the only immortal partner in the list: the remains in the papyrus are, however, too scanty to be certain that her name appeared. Minyas' position in the *Catalogue* is a notorious *crux*: West has argued that he might have been one of Aeolus' seven sons, but this is far from certain.[152] Mekionike is attested only for the *ME*. The story of the beheading of Medousa seems to have been mentioned as present in the *ME* by Philodemus in another passage of *PHerc* 1602 (col. vii = 263 ll. 7078–80 Obbink; fr. 363A M.–W.), while she does not seem to have been mentioned in the *Catalogue*'s Perseus sections.[153] Lapetheia, Methone and Polyboea seem to appear nowhere else among Poseidon's lovers.[154]

[149] Cf. below, n. 154.

[150] According to West's genealogical tables, the following names should probably be added: Libye, Salamis, Cercyra and Arene (?). For Amymone, Alkyone and Celaeno, see above.

[151] In the scholia to Theocritus, Καλύκης is Heinsius' conjecture for Κάϋκος; in the scholia to Pindar, the transmitted form is Καλυκία.

[152] West 1985a: 64–6, and 1985b; *contra*, Dräger 1997: 44–51. For a survey of his various genealogies, cf. *RE* 15. 2014–8.

[153] Cf. above, p. 203. Her union with Poseidon is mentioned also at *Theog.* 278: this may have led to her omission in the *Catalogue*. It is possible that the *ME*, unlike the *Catalogue*, was not meant to be attached to the *Theogony*.

[154] In fr. 136.16, immediately after Oecles, a woman loved by Poseidon is mentioned, but her name is lost in a gap in the papyrus. Diod. Sic. 4.68.5 mentions a Polyboea among Oecles' daughters: it is

To sum up: Poseidon's list in Philodemus includes less than half of the lovers attested in the *Catalogue*: Tyro, probably Iphimedeia, and perhaps Alkyone and Celaeno. It omits Canace (?), the mother of the Molione, Mestra, Eurynome, Caenis, and Arethousa. On the other hand, it mentions one union which was surely in the *ME* (Mekionike), and another one (Gorgo) for which there is no evidence in the *Catalogue*, though it may have been mentioned in the *ME*.

Two of the heroines in the list, Methone and Lapetheia, are connected with cities bearing the same or a similar name. Methone is the name of four cities: one in Messenia, one in Pieria, one in Argolis (near Troezen) and one in Magnesia.[155] Lapetheia, on the other hand, can be linked only to the town of Lapathos/Lapethos, on the northern shore of Cyprus. It is a place far away from mainland concerns, but perhaps not surprising in poems whose geographical focus far exceeds that of Greece itself. In connection with the possible Laconian perspective of the *ME*, it is not without interest that Lapethos was a Laconian foundation. Strabo 14.6.3 calls it a foundation of Laconians and Praxander, and Lycophron 586–90 mentions a Praxander, who led a group of Laconians from Therapne after the destruction of Troy (though Lycophron emphasises his absence from the Catalogue of Ships), as the founder of a town in Cyprus.[156] In this perspective, Methone too may be identified with the eponym of the Messenian coastal city, which in the sixth century lay under Laconian control.[157]

unlikely, however, that Poseidon's lover in fr. 136 was this Polyboea. If Oecles is born in v.15, there is no space for mentioning his marrying and having children (already mentioned in fr. 25.34–40 and 26.1–4, on which, cf. Casanova 1967). West 1985a: 81 argues that the woman must have been one of Oecles' paternal aunts, Manto or Pronoe.

[155] In the case of the Magnesian town, the name actually occurs in the lengthened form used by Philodemus, Μηθώνη (*Il.* 2.716; all other texts derive from this passage), as opposed to the usual Μεθώνη. The eponymous heroine of the Magnesian city appears only in Eust. *ad Il.* 2.695 (323.44), as wife of Poeas and mother of Philoctetes. The form Μοθώνη is attested for the Magnesian and Messenian cities, and variants occur for the other cities too.

[156] Names compounded in Prax- seem to have later been 'characteristic of the place': cf. Hill 1940: 99 n. 6. We know very little about the story of Lapethos in the archaic period. The numismatic evidence suggests a possible growth in Phoenician influence by the late-sixth century. All the coin legends are in Phoenician script, starting from the earliest ones (around 500, king Demonicus); Ps.-Scylax calls it a Phoenician city, and Alexander of Ephesus (*SH* 34) seems to have considered Citium and Lapethos to have been founded by Belus. The second king attested on coins bears a Phoenician name (Sidqmelek), and for later kings both Greek and Phoenician names are attested. On the relations between Greeks and Phoenicians, cf. Robinson 1948: 45–7, 60–5; Kagan 1994: 46–8 (with previous bibliography); for a different point of view, cf. Maier 1985: 35. There are remains of an important temple of Poseidon Narnakios not far away from the town (cf. Hill 1940: 99–100, 183; Masson and Sznycer 1972: 97), which may be interesting, given Lapetheia's role as Poseidon's lover in Philodemus.

[157] According to Paus. 4.24.4, 27.8 and 35.2, 'when Damocratidas was king of Argos' (chronology uncertain, usually located at the time of the Second Messenian War) Sparta had resettled it with

In conclusion, if we assume that the lists of the lovers of Apollo and Poseidon were based on only one of the two poems, the likelier candidate would perhaps be the *ME* rather than the *Catalogue*. This would not imply, of course, that some of the entries present in the lists might not have appeared in the *Catalogue* as well, and in neither case do the lists seem to have been exhaustive, at least as far as Apollo is concerned. An alternative explanation, of course, is that Apollodorus had a more comprehensive list, based on both poems, and that Philodemus has operated a more or less random selection, thus mixing up items drawn from the two poems.[158]

The publication of several papyri, the edition by Merkelbach and West, and the studies of its structure by West, Casanova[159] and others have marked great progress for our understanding of the *Catalogue*. As is obvious, however, many questions remain open. In exploring these problems, greater attention should perhaps be paid to the existence of a second, longer, genealogical poem belonging to a similar tradition. It may have been as familiar to Pindar as the *Catalogue* was, and, though arguably less widely read at a later age, it was still available to learned readers from the Hellenistic to the later Imperial period. Its existence makes the issue of reconstructing and interpreting 'Hesiodic' genealogical poetry more complicated, but certainly not less interesting.

APPENDIX: THE PLACING OF THE ATALANTA-*EHOIE* IN THE *CATALOGUE*

The problem of the attribution of frr. 71A and 251a to the *Catalogue* or the *ME* is connected with that of the possible position of fr. 71A within the *Catalogue*. Parsons and West noted that fr. 71A.12 (the probable end of a roll) might have been the same verse as fr. 73.1 (the top of a column, and possibly the beginning of a roll), which preserves the start of the Atalanta-*ehoie*. Fr. 71A may, therefore, represent the end of a *Catalogue* book (with the first line of the next book added as a *reclamans*) and fr. 73 the beginning of the following book, which West identifies as Book 2.[160] C. Meliadò, however, has recently published a new piece of evidence, based on a revised reading of a scholion to Theocritus 3.40 in POxy 2064 + 3548, where the Atalanta episode was quoted as from 'Hesiod in <Book> 3'.[161]

colonists from Nauplia. Paus. 4.35.1 also says that the city, identified with Homeric Pedasos (9.152 and 294), took its new name from the daughter of Oeneus (Porthaon's son), or from a nearby rock.

[158] In this case, Ovid's list may perhaps ultimately be based on Philodemus, cf. further Obbink 2004.

[159] Cf. in particular Casanova 1969b, Casanova 1973, Casanova 1979b.

[160] Cf. Parsons 1974: 1, West 1985a: 41–2.

[161] Meliadò 2003.

Meliadò takes into considerations three possibilities: 1) the numeral may refer to the *ME*, which, however, is never quoted by book number;[162] 2) it may refer to an edition where Book 1 was actually the *Theogony* (though in all other instances the numerals refer to the *Catalogue* books alone);[163] 3) the numeral in the Theocritus scholion may be mistaken.[164] The possibility that West's attribution of fr. 73 to the beginning of Book 2 may be mistaken deserves, however, to be explored in greater detail.

The grounds on which it rests are not altogether certain:

1. Atalanta's father, Schoeneus, belongs to the Aeolid stemma: her *ehoie*, therefore, was probably inserted in that genealogy.
2. The Aeolid stemma is unlikely to have occupied more than the first two books in the *Catalogue*.
3. If fr. 73.1 (= fr. 71A.12) was the beginning of a book, it must have been Book 2.

Fr. 71A seems to represent a section about either Ceyx and his descendants or about Boutes,[165] and it is uncertain that either of them was inserted in the Aeolid stemma. As we have seen, the Ceyx mentioned in these lines cannot be identified with the husband of Aeolus' daughter Alkyone (fr. 10a.83(?)–98), and we do not know to which family he was attached. The only source which does give him a lineage is schol. Soph. *Tr.* 40, where he is said to have been the son of one of Amphitryon's brothers. If this were the case also in the *Catalogue*, he would have been mentioned immediately after fr. 135, which, in West's reconstruction, belongs to a Danae-*ehoie* appended to the Belid branch of the Inachidai, toward the end of Book 2.[166] If, on the other hand, the genealogical section was centered on Boutes, we have no way of placing it: the Attic Boutes was the son of Poseidon in the *Catalogue* (fr. 223), and is not easily attached to any other genealogy.[167]

The Atalanta-*ehoie* was not necessarily an appendage of the genealogical stemma of her father. She might have been introduced within that of her mother, as, for example, Alcmene was, or even in that of her husband, as

[162] Cf. above, p. 205. [163] On these problems, cf. Meliadò 2003.

[164] A parallel for the mistake, not mentioned by Meliadò, would be the quotation of fr. 245 = 10a.62 in the papyrus commentary on Antimachus, on which, cf. above, pp. 180–1.

[165] It is much more probable that this is Ceyx's genealogy, and not Boutes', as West 1985a: 109 supposes: cf. above, pp. 185–6.

[166] Cf. above, p. 188.

[167] Cf. West 1985a: 109. On the difficulty of placing *POxy* 2999 within the Aeolid genealogy and the Atalanta-*ehoie* at the beginning of Book 2, cf. already Cohen 1983: 44–7.

happens in the case of Mestra.[168] We do not know who her mother was[169] and her husband's lineage is very uncertain; thus, it is far from certain that her story was inserted within the Aeolid stemma.

A further argument in favour of West's reconstruction is:

4. *POxy* 2488B, one of the two papyri contributing to fr. 73, is said to belong to the same roll as 2488A (fr. 133), which preserves some verses from the story of Melampous. This, according to West's reconstruction, occurred in Book 2. Now, it is possible that the two fragments, written by the same hand on the verso of a reused papyrus, may have been part of the same roll. But this is far from certain.[170] Lobel remarks that 2488B 'seems to have been found in a different part of the site',[171] which is not a good argument for the attribution of the two scraps to the same roll. In any case, the attribution of the Melampous episode to Book 2, though reasonable, is far from certain. All we can say is that the Inachid section, to which it belongs, began somewhere in Book 2, and also occupied at least part of Book 3. It is impossible to say where the division came. West argues that the lineage of Acrisius was briefly mentioned (fr. 129.8–15), while that of Proitos was narrated with greater detail, including the story of Melampous. After that, Acrisius' lineage was completed by appending a short Danae-*ehoie* (fr. 135). In such a reconstruction, our hypothetical Ceyx, Amphitryon's nephew, would have followed the story of Melampous: this is almost unavoidable if fr. 129 is correctly ascribed to the *Catalogue*. In this case, *POxy* 2488A and B would belong to two different books of the *Catalogue*, which, as we have seen, is by no means impossible.

To sum up: if the Atalanta-*ehoie* was indeed the first of a book, we may choose among various possibilities:

1. The Theocritus scholion is correct: Ceyx, Amphitryon's nephew, was introduced at the end of the Danae-*ehoie* at the end of Book 2; Atalanta was introduced within the Inachid genealogy at the beginning of Book 3; *POxy* 2488A and B do not belong to the same roll.
2. The Theocritus scholion is mistaken, and West's reconstruction is correct. In this case, Ceyx must belong somewhere in the Aeolid stemma.

[168] The Mestra-*ehoie* is attached to the genealogy of her husband's father, Sisyphus, and not to the earlier section, where Erysichthon must have been mentioned. Both of them, however, belong to the Aeolid stemma.

[169] The sources that mention Iasus as her father also quote Clymene, daughter of Minyas, as her mother (in this case, she would always belong to the Aeolid stemma). We know that in Hesiod her father was Schoeneus, but no mention is found of her mother.

[170] As noticed, regarding other papyri, by West himself: cf. West 1985a: 40. [171] Lobel 1962: 36.

The main problem with the first possibility is that there is no obvious way of linking Atalanta or her husband to the Inachid stemma. It is probably less elegant than West's reconstruction, but, given the limited evidence available to us, it should not be too quickly discarded.[172]

[172] I am very grateful to Richard Hunter, who read a draft of this chapter and improved its English.

CHAPTER 9

Ordered from the Catalogue*: Pindar, Bacchylides, and Hesiodic genealogical poetry*

Giovan Battista D'Alessio

CATALOGUE AND PRAISE

Greek lyric poets of the early fifth century largely addressed local audiences while promising panhellenic renown. The context of their songs is inscribed in the texts themselves. The interplay between local concerns (the poet's, the patron's and the audience's) and the more than local reach of the song was a complex construct. By contrast, genealogical epic poetry, as we are able to reconstruct it, does not seem explicitly to have addressed any specified local audience. Its main subject was indeed local traditions, but they had to be adjusted to a panhellenic frame. It is not unlikely that local bias may have directed the poet's choices, but, when this happened, it did not leave any overt mark on the text. Modern critics are not unanimous about the existence of a political 'hidden agenda' behind the remains of the Hesiodic *Catalogue*, and it is not unlikely that our uncertainty would not have changed very much had the poem been entirely preserved.[1]

Inserting somebody as one of many items in a catalogue may not appear as a very flattering rhetorical strategy. The catalogue of Zeus' lovers in his speech to Hera (*Iliad* 14.312–28) culminates with his wife as the best item in the series, the *climax* which surpasses those who have gone before. It is not surprising, however, that most readers have found his move rather tactless. Aristarchus, who deleted the lines, was of the opinion that 'his list would repel her, not attract her'[2] and a more recent commentator agrees that 'such a roster would offend any wife'.[3] In Leporello's catalogue of Don Giovanni's conquests, on the other hand, there is no conflict between the form of the discourse and its only partly fulfilled aim. Leporello wants Donna Elvira

[1] Cf. e.g. West 1985a: 168–71 (Attica; cf. also Bremmer 1997: 11), Fowler 1998 (Delphian Amphictyony).
[2] Cf. scholia *Il.* 14.317a ἀθετοῦνται στίχοι ἕνδεκα, ὅτι ἄκαιρος ἡ ἀπαρίθμησις τῶν ὀνομάτων· μᾶλλον γὰρ ἀλλοτριοῖ τὴν Ἥραν ἢ προσάγεται.
[3] Janko 1992: 201.

precisely to realise that she has really been only one item in the list: *non siete, non foste e non sarete né la prima né l'ultima*.

Greek genealogical poetry, as represented in its probably most ambitious and successful outcome, the Hesiodic *Catalogue*, was organised around this generative principle. The genealogies of the Greeks and neighbouring peoples are inserted into the frame of a catalogue of women loved by gods. A catalogic frame, as we have seen, is not suited for conveying a strategy of praise if the object of the praise is going to be just one item in a list. Such an aim, on the other hand, may be more easily achieved in hymnic contexts, where the object of praise, and the catalogue's focal point, is the god. Catalogues of cities and people loved by the gods are an important feature in ancient hymnic poetry;[4] they are, for example, frequent in Callimachus[5] and in lyric poetry.[6] In Pindar, this catalogic strategy is used in two famous and remarkably similar passages, the openings of *Isthmian* 7 and of the *First Hymn*,[7] which both start with a catalogue of Theban glories. The hymnic formal structure is particularly clear in *Isthmian* 7, where the nymph Thebe is actually addressed, and the usual question about the topic of the song leads to a catalogue of possible answers.[8]

In the archaic hexametric hymns such catalogic sections are, on the other hand, remarkable for their rarity. One of the passages closest to a catalogue of places loved by a god is in the *Hymn to Apollo*, where the places that did *not* welcome the suffering Leto are listed.[9] The main narrative is introduced by asking the god πῶς τ' ἄρ σ' ὑμνήσω 'How shall I hymn you?' (19), a question leading to the answer ἢ ὥς σε πρῶτον Λητὼ τέκε χάρμα βροτοῖσι 'or how Leto first bore you as a joy for mortals' (v. 25). This device presupposes the possibility of a longer series of answers. In the same hymn, an enigmatic passage attests that catalogues of possible items related to the god were indeed part of the hymnic repertoire. At v. 207, the question of v. 19 is repeated. This time, however, we do get a proper catalogue, with at least five different topics for a song. The last one, Apollo's foundation

[4] Cf. Men. Rhet. 334.27–335.6 Sp. (= pp. 8–10 R–W). On aretalogies as a generic antecedent of the *ehoie*-poetry, cf. Rutherford 2000: 91.

[5] Cf. *Hy.* 1.68–80, 3.170–4, 183–258, 4.271–3, 5.57ff., 6.29f.; on catalogues in religious predications, cf. Kleinknecht 1937: 19, 24–5, 88–9. More generally, cf. Bulloch 1985 on Call. *Hy.* 5.60–5 and 167 n. 3.

[6] On the πῶς τ' ἀρ σ' ὑμνήσω formula, cf. Meyer 1933: 21–2 n. 16.

[7] Cf. also *Nemean* 10, further away from the hymnic pattern.

[8] On catalogues in Pindar, cf. Race 1989: 55–68.

[9] The catalogue starts at v. 30, but it is actually preceded by a sentence (29) suggesting that it is a catalogue of places governed by the god: ἔνθεν ἀπορνύμενος πᾶσι θνητοῖσιν ἀνάσσεις. | ὅσσους Κρήτη <τ'> ἐντὸς ἔχει καὶ δῆμος Ἀθηνῶν (. . .). It is only at v. 45 that the new syntactical and semantic value of the catalogue is made clear: τόσσον ἔπ' ὠδίνουσα 'Εκηβόλον ἵκετο Λητώ. A shorter, and less ambiguous, catalogue is to be found at vv. 179–81.

of an oracular shrine, introduces the main narrative of the second part of the hymn. The first four topics have to do with Apollo's love affairs (vv. 207–13):

πῶς τ᾽ ἄρ σ᾽ ὑμνήσω πάντως εὔυμνον ἔοντα;
ἠέ σ᾽ ἐνὶ μνηστῆισιν ἀείδω καὶ φιλότητι,
ὅππως μνωόμενος ἔκιες Ἀζαντίδα κούρην,
Ἴσχυ᾽ ἅμ᾽ ἀντιθέωι Ἐλατιονίδηι εὐίππωι, 210
ἢ ἅμα Φόρβαντι, Τριοπέωι γένος, ἢ ἅμ᾽ Ἐρεχθεῖ,
ἢ ἅμα Λευκίππωι καὶ Λευκίπποιο δάμαρτι
< . . . >
πεζός, ὁ δ᾽ ἵπποισιν; οὐ μὴν Τρίοπός γ᾽ ἐνέλειπεν.

How am I to sing you, since you are so well sung of everywhere?
Am I to sing you among your wooed lovers,
how you came wooing the Azantian girl,
along with godlike Ischys, the son of Elatos, rich in horses? 210
or with Phorbas, son of Triops, or with Erechtheus,
or with Leucippus and the wife of Leucippus?
< . . . >
on foot, while he was on a chariot? He was certainly not inferior to Triops.

The textual form and the interpretation of these lines are much debated.[10] It is clear, however, that they show how a series of the god's sexual involvements was a suitable topic for a hymn. The text seems to allude to four different and obscure sexual affairs, involving in each case a male character. In the first and last cases, a female character is also mentioned, and the most plausible interpretation, at least for these two items, is that Apollo is presented as competing with a hero in wooing a heroine.[11] As, for example, in Pindar's *Isthmian* 7, every item in the list is introduced by the disjunctive particle ἠέ or ἤ. The first item seems to introduce the story of Apollo's competition with Ischys, probably the same episode dealt with in a Hesiodic poem (it is not clear whether in the *Catalogue*, the *Megalai Ehoiai*, or somewhere else) and by Pindar in *Pythian* 3.[12]

It is in such hymnic contexts that a catalogic series of beloved goddesses, nymphs and women, each introduced by a version of the ἠ᾽ οἵη formula, may have found its original collocation. If the same pattern is to be used

[10] Its corruption is 'beyond hope and remedy' (Wilamowitz 1886: 80). Here I follow the text and the interpretation of Càssola 1975.

[11] If, as has been argued, in the case of Phorbas, the male character is not a rival of the god (cf. also D'Alessio, this volume, p. 203), but the object of his love, we may have an antecedent for a *Catalogue* such as that of Phanocles' *Erotes* (using ἠ ὡς in frr. 1.1 and 3) and the Alexandrian *Ehoioi* of *SH* 732, on which cf. Hunter and Asquith (this volume).

[12] Cf. below, pp. 234–5 and D'Alessio (this volume, pp. 208–10).

within a eulogistic strategy centred on one of the beloved nymphs, the structure has to be reversed. In *Isthmian* 7, the nymph Thebe becomes the main addressee and takes the place of the god.

In the same way, some adjustments are necessary when the panhellenic poetry of praise appropriates the tradition of panhellenic genealogical poetry. In the great catalogic tradition, every item finds its position in a syntagmatic structure, which aims, above all, at keeping everything together.[13] The panhellenic singer of praise within a local context needs to transform the *syntagmatic* position of the catalogued item into the *paradigmatic* one of the object of praise. Every meaningful element has to converge within the genealogy. What was an item in a catalogue, or a piece in a genealogical structure, becomes, for the time of the song, the focal point of the entire history and of a whole world.

IN THE BEGINNING: THE LOCRIAN LINEAGE OF DEUCALION

Pindar's treatment of the mythical past of Opous in *Olympian* 9.40–79 (a song composed for the Opountian wrestler Epharmostus, winner at Olympia in 468) can provide an instructive case study. Locrian Opous is not exactly one of the best-known cities in the Greek world. And yet, its territory and its history figured in the very first stages of the great panhellenic construction provided by the Hesiodic *Catalogue*. The beginning of the genealogical part of the poem is not preserved, but there is a general consensus that it opened with the genealogy of Deucalion and Pyrrha. This couple was located in the Parnassus region. It is not clear whether they were, already in Hesiod, the only survivors of the devastating flood. The flood story, crucial for Pindar, was known in the early fifth century, and I am inclined to think that it was present in the *Catalogue* too.[14] From the very start, the whole of Pindar's story is the product of Zeus's will: the first settlement (42), the end – not the origin! – of the flood (52), the birth of Opous and his adoption by Locrus (57–62). In the preserved fragments of the first books of the *Catalogue*, the interventions of the gods do not usually appear as part of a providential design. Towards the end of the poem, a general plan of Zeus emerges (fr. 204.95ff.): he devises θέσκελα ἔργα 'wondrous deeds' (fr. 204.96), apparently involving the destruction of a great

[13] On the tension between syntagmatic and paradigmatic levels in the *Catalogue*, see Rutherford 2000: 93. In praise poetry, the drive toward the 'paradigmatic' is noticeably stronger.

[14] For Pyrrha, Deucalion and the flood, cf. Epicharmus fr. 113 K.–A. The presence of the flood in the *Catalogue* is doubted by West 1985a: 55–6 (on his arguments, cf. also Clay (this volume) with ample bibliography), S. West 1994: 133 n. 23 and Bremmer 1998: 44; it is admitted by Merkelbach 1968a: 132, 1968b: 144, and Caduff 1986: 92–102 (on Deucalion in Hesiod).

part of the human race (fr. 204.98–9), and a secluded blessed afterlife for the demigods.[15] We do not know whether this project had been foreshadowed at the beginning of the poem. If it did feature the flood, this would have provided an epochal counterpoint to the final *Heldendämmerung*. The one reference we do find to Zeus's mind in an early section of the poem is the authorial remark which follows the disturbing story of Alkyone and Ceyx, transformed into birds as a punishment by Zeus for their arrogance and pointless love of each other (μαψιδίη φιλότης): 'but hidden [is the mind] of Zeus [and no man] can fathom it' (fr. 10a.97–8).[16] The positive involvement of the god, on the other hand, is the backbone of Pindar's story, and its effect is unambiguously uplifting: it transfigures the history of Opous into part of a providential and benign divine design. Zeus himself, along with the victor and his city, is the object of the song (v. 6),[17] as it is Zeus, again, who lurks behind the incredible deeds of his son Heracles, κατὰ δαίμονα ἀγαθός 'heroic thanks to the god' (27–35).[18] It is only διόσδοτος αἴγλα 'the Zeus-given gleam', after all, which makes life worth living, and which gives meaning to history.

Pyrrha and Deucalion are presented as the primeval couple, and the tradition that they produced people by stone-throwing was known to 'Hesiod' (fr. 234).[19] In the more ancient sources, this took place in the city of Kynos, later to become the port of the inland and wealthier Opous, the metropolis of the Locrians, but still mentioned as a separate city by Hellanicus (fr. 117a Fowler).[20] At the beginning of his story, Pindar moves his attention away from inconvenient tales of struggles involving the gods to the 'city of Protogeneia', where he sets the scene of this miraculous birth after the flood. At first sight, Pindar is appropriating the more recent version which privileged Opous. Such a tradition may well have been in existence at his time, but his wording, in fact, leaves the question open. It suggests indeed that the scene took place at Opous, but does not make this necessary. It is the 'city of Protogeneia', the 'first-born woman'. Unlike, however, what regularly happens in the neat catalogic structure of

[15] Cf. Clay (this volume).

[16] A more benevolent intervention of Zeus will appear on the occasion of the birth of Heracles, in Book 4; cf. fr. 195 = *Scut.* 27–9, where the hero is generated as a protector of gods and men (with θέσκελα ἔργα, 34). On the pessimistic attitude of the *Catalogue*, cf. Stiewe 1963: 23–7. On Heracles in the *Catalogue*, see Haubold (this volume).

[17] It is perhaps no coincidence that when at Hor. *Carm.* 1.2.1–12 Jupiter frightens mankind *graue ne rediret saeculum Pyrrhae*, he is portrayed *rubente dextera*, like Pindar's Zeus φοινικοστερόπας.

[18] Cf. Bernardini 1983: 129–37; Privitera 1986.

[19] More on this fragment and its context below, p. 225.

[20] On the identification of the towns: Dakoronia 1993. On the political organisation of East Locris, cf. Nielsen 2000.

the Hesiodic poems, Pindar neither gives the girl's genealogy, nor does he explicitly equate her city with Opous, as opposed to nearby Kynos. The city itself, as we learn later on, could not even have been called Opous at this stage. This evocative blurring of the data evokes a primeval mother and a primeval city, in an empty landscape.

The 'first-born woman' allows Pindar to blur not only space but, most importantly, also time. The genealogical tradition of the Deucalionids knew of one Protogeneia, daughter of the primeval couple.[21] She was one of, probably, three daughters: like her sisters, she was seduced by Zeus, but, unlike her sisters, she moved away from her parents' abode, and gave birth to Aethlios, king of Elis. Pindar, however, does not evoke her figure. After the flood is over, he introduces the ancestors of his audience (ὑμέτεροι πρόγονοι 54): 'from them (κείνων), from the beginning, your ancestors descended, men armed with brazen shields, sons of daughters of Iapetos' stock and of the mightiest Kronidai, local kings, always,' (vv. 54–6) until, that is, Zeus impregnated a foreign princess, thus providing a much-desired heir for the last king of the list, Locrus. At v. 54, κείνων must refer to the primeval couple, and not to the newly produced stone-people. Their female descendants, 'daughters of Iapetos' stock', as in the *Catalogue*, are Pyrrha, her daughters and her granddaughters, the backbone of the genealogy, giving birth to the offspring of Zeus and other gods. Instead of providing a precise and detailed genealogy, Pindar sketches the picture in a most general way, while highlighting the prestigious lineage of the local kings; this allows him specifically to project onto Opous a picture that, in the *Catalogue*, involved a wider genealogical stemma and territory. Protogeneia in this context is apparently the least pertinent of the three daughters, her descendants having moved to Elis,[22] while the other two, Thyia (fr. 7) and, possibly, Pandora (fr. 5)[23] had remained in central Greece. The main line of Deucalion's stemma was represented by Hellen – who in the *Catalogue* was probably a son of Zeus and Deucalion's wife, Pyrrha – and his descendants.

[21] The main sources are listed in Söder 1939: 73 and West 1985a: 52 n. 39, who argue for her presence in Hesiod. The sources mentioning her son by Zeus, Aethlios, are Paus. 5.1.3, Hygin. *Fab.* 155.3, Conon 14 and schol. Eur. *Phoe.* 133. Another Protogeneia appears in Endymion's lineage: she is the daughter of his grandson Calydon, and bears Oxylus to Ares in *Bibl.* 1.7.7: it is rather doubtful that she was mentioned in fr. 10a.69–70 (Parsons–Sijpstein–Worp 1981: 17–18).

[22] Her grandson Endymion was king of Elis, as, according Paus. 5.1.3, already was his father Aethlios, Protogeneia's son. In *Bibl.* 1.7.5, it is Endymion who leads the Aeolians from Thessaly to Elis. If Aethlios was the eponymous hero of the Olympian *aethla* (Wilamowitz) or 'a hypostasis of Zeus Aethlios' (West 1985a: 60 n. 67), Pausanias seems to have preserved the older tradition.

[23] West 1985a: 52; *contra* Casanova 1979a: 176–87, and Dräger 1997: 32–41, who think that this Pandora is not Deucalion's daughter, but the wife, or future wife, of Epimetheus.

It is not at all clear who were the ancestors of Locrus, the last 'local king' in Pindar's song. Some traditions made him a descendant of a further son of Deucalion, Amphictyon, obviously reflecting the interests of the Pylaian and, later, Delphic Amphictyony, but it is debated whether Amphictyon featured in the *Catalogue*.[24] West conjectures that he may have been a son of Hellen, but such a tradition is not attested in any ancient source.[25] Anyway, Pindar presupposes a tradition where he is a Deucalionid, and where Zeus (or one of his brothers) has intervened in the lineage between him and Deucalion.[26] He may have either inserted Locrus among the descendants of Hellen, or, perhaps more probably, he was following one of the more common traditions where he is a descendant of Hellen's brother, Amphictyon.[27] According to the scholia on *Olympian* 9.96c, he is a son of Amphictyon himself, who, in that case, is said to have been a son of Zeus. In other sources, his father is Physcus (already Hecataeus fr. 16 Fowler),[28] who is either a son of Amphictyon (Plut. *Qu. Gr.* 15 (= *Moralia* 294e–f) and Eustathius 277.18 f., *ad Il.* 2.531 = i.425 van der Valk),[29] or a son of Aetolus, son of Amphictyon ('Ps. Scymnus' 588–9, Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Φύσκος).[30] The intervention of the god in the genealogy, presupposed by Pindar, may have

[24] Though theoretically possible in hexameters (cf. Ἀμφικτυόνων in the only hexameter of the epigram by Echembrotus), no form of this name seems to be attested in extant hexametric poetry. Cf. also the scansion of Ἠλεκτρύων and Ἠλεκτρυώνη in frr. 135.[7], 180.[5], 193.[10], 20, 195.3.16, 35, 42, *Aspis* 82, 86. West has no place for Amphictyon in the *Catalogue*, but cf. Dräger 1997: 36. On his role in the constructions of central Greek genealogies, cf. Söder 1939: 73–4; Hall 2002: 149–53, 169–70. On his appropriation in Attic genealogies: Caduff 1986: 107–9.

[25] There is only a free slot in the list of Hellen's sons (fr. 10a.27). West 1983b mentions Locrus and Minyas, but in 1985a: 53–4 opts for Minyas; Dräger 1997: 47–51 argues for Magnes: cf. also Brillante 1983a: 109 n. 69. In all the sources, Locrus is either a son or a descendant of Amphictyon. I assume that Ps. Clem. *Rec.* 10.21.5 *Megacliten Macarei* (sc. *Iuppiter vitiat*) *ex qua nascitur Thebe et Locrus*, refers to a different character, possibly an equivalent of the Locrus who in Pherecydes fr. 170 Fowler is a son of Zeus and of Maera, daughter of Proitos, son of Thersandrus (a son of Sisyphus) and who, together with Amphion and Zethes, contributes to the building of Thebes.

[26] If Casanova 1979a: 153–5 is right in his conjecture that in the *Catalogue* Protogeneia, daughter of Deucalion and Pyrrha, was the wife of Locrus, the genealogy of the *Catalogue* would be incompatible with that presupposed by Pindar.

[27] Cf. Caduff 1986: 81.

[28] He is the eponymous hero of the Physkoi/Physkeis, who were, like the Lelegians, later called Locrians (Steph. Byz.), and of the western Locrian town of Physkeis/Physkos, whose foundation, however, according to Plutarch, was due to Locrus himself.

[29] A tradition traced back by some editors to Aristotle's *Constitution of the Opountians*: cf. frr. 561 B and C Rose = 572 and 574 Gigon. Physkos' mother is called Chthonopatra by Eustathius; Fowler 1998: 12–3 n. 29 conjectures that she may have been the daughter of Hellen, called Xenopatra in Hellanicus fr. 125 Fowler.

[30] In Hesiod, Aetolus is the son of Endymion, and a grandson of Protogeneia, and his sons are Calydon and Pleuron: fr. 10a.63–4. For other, possibly longer, genealogies, cf. Halliday 1928: 88–9.

plausibly taken place at the level of Amphictyon, or even at that of Locrus himself.[31]

It is only at this stage that Pindar introduces an unnamed female character: Zeus snatches away the daughter of Opous, king of the Epeians, and impregnates her on Mount Mainalon, in Arcadia. Then he carries her to Locrus, so that he may eventually have an heir, who shall bear the name of his maternal grandfather. The displacement of women by gods is a common device in genealogical poems.[32] The journey of the girl from Elis to Opous mirrors that of the missing Protogeneia: Deucalion's daughter, impregnated by Zeus, had moved from Parnassus (or, as Pindar suggests, from Opous) to Elis. Is this unnamed girl the Protogeneia (II) we have been expecting from the very beginning of the story (v. 41)? Most readers, as attested already in the ancient scholia, have understood the text in this way, but there is no other mention of this second Protogeneia in any other source. The fact that Pindar avoids explicitly naming her is part of a strategy of blurring. Opous is the city of Protogeneia, whose lineage moved to Elis; the foreign girl who goes to Opous comes, in fact, from Opous.[33]

It is very likely that Pindar's construction already presupposes a genealogical discontinuity between Locrus and his son Opous. The particular emphasis on the enthusiastic reaction of Locrus at the birth of the younger Opous strongly suggests that Pindar may in fact be correcting a tradition according to which the relationship between the two was less idyllic. As a matter of fact, a group of other texts, perhaps ultimately going back to Aristotle's *Constitution of the Opountians*, is the only other source for the foreign marriage of Locrus, and these give a rather different version of his relationship with his son. The wife is an Epeian also in this tradition. Her name is transmitted as Kambyse in the text of Aristotle,[34] and as Kabye by Plutarch (*Qu. Gr.* 15). It might have been Kaphye, the name of an Arcadian town on

[31] According to the scholia to *Ol.* 9.82d–f Drachm. Locrus is a son of Zeus. This would also explain why Zeus is so concerned about his lineage.

[32] Cf. e.g. Stratonice (fr. 26.23–8, carried away without dowry by Apollo for his son Melaneus, without, as it seems, having been impregnated by the god), Tyro (fr. 30.29–30, moved to her uncle's home before being impregnated by Poseidon), Mestra in fr. 43a.55–69 (after delivering a son, she is apparently brought back to Athens), Europa (fr. 141), Auge in fr. 165 (brought from Arcadia to Mysia and later impregnated by Heracles); Io belongs to the same category, while Danae is somewhat different, as she comes back with her son. In Pindar: Cyrene in *Pyth.* 9, possibly from fr. 215, Aegina, in *Pae.* 6.134–40 (she might have featured in Hesiod too: see below, p. 238).

[33] Strabo 9.4.2 attests that there were people in Elis claiming Opountian ancestors and Diod. Sic. 14.17.8–9 and Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ὀπόεις mention a town called Opous in Elis (though schol. Pind. *Ol.* 9.64.c. Drachm. refers the name to a river). Pindar does not give the genealogy of Opous senior and he does not appear elsewhere in any independent tradition, but if he belongs to the lineage of the kings of Elis, he must be thought of as a descendant of Aethlios and Protogeneia.

[34] Cf. fr. 561 A Rose = 571.1 Gigon = scholia Pind. *Ol.* 9.86e Drachm.

the northern slope of Mount Mainalon, the place where she made love with Zeus, according to Pindar.[35] If this was the case, she might have originally been an Arcadian, who was moved to Elis following the closer links between Western Locris and Elis. For Pindar, the Elean origin of the praised city is a crucial link with the present celebration of an Olympic victory.

In the alternative tradition, Locrus and Opous ended up quarrelling: as a consequence, Locrus left his realm to his son and moved with some of his subjects to found Western Locris. I believe that the story of the quarrel was already told in 'Hesiod'. Locrus is mentioned only in fr. 234:

> ἤτοι γὰρ Λοκρὸς Λελέγων ἡγήσατο λαῶν,
> τοὺς ῥά ποτε Κρονίδης Ζεὺς ἄφθιτα μήδεα εἰδὼς
> λεκτοὺς ἐκ γαίης ΛΑΟΥΣ πόρε Δευκαλίωνι·
>
> for Locrus led the Lelegian people,
> whom once Zeus Kronides, devising immortal projects,
> had given to Deucalion, stones/men collected from the earth.

It is interesting that the seminal event in the history of Opous as told by Pindar, the birth of the stone-people, might have been referred to quite late in Hesiod, at least two generations later than Deucalion. This passage suggests that the event had not been previously mentioned.[36] In any case, in this fragment Locrus is leading them somewhere.[37] M. L. West has supposed that Locrus, who, in his reconstruction, is a son of Hellen, had moved from the original abode of his family, in Southern Thessaly, to East Locris. In no source, however, did the stone-throwing take place in Thessaly. The stone-people were known to have inhabited one or both parts of Locris.[38] There is little doubt, in my opinion, that in the Hesiodic passage Locrus led them from eastern to western Locris, and his most plausible reason for doing so was, already, a quarrel with his son, born to a foreign mother. It is probably to the same event that Pindar referred with the words πόλιν δ'

[35] The conjecture was first proposed by Vürtheim 1907: 96–7, accepted by van der Kolf 1913: 104 (*non vidi*) and revived by Huxley 1975: 31 and 47–8 (it is inadvertently attributed to Huxley himself by Bernardini 1983: 142 n. 62 and Gerber 2002: 49–50).

[36] Alternatively, at its first appearance there had been no need to introduce the etymological pun and to identify the stone-people with the Lelegians. In this case, they might have been introduced by the anonymous hexameter quoted in the scholia to *Ol.* 9.70c Drachm.: ἐκ δὲ λίθων ἐγένοντο βροτοί, ΛΑΟΙ δὲ καλέονται. As for the etymological pun, note that in the late Hellenistic elegy from Salmakis ('the Pride of Halicarnassus') the first hemistich of Hesiod fr. 234.3 is used to describe the people led to Halicarnassus by the king of Elis, Endymion, a grandson of Protogeneia in the *Catalogue* (*SGO* 01/12/02, v. 30). It is quite probable that the author identified them with the Lelegians who had moved to Caria: cf. D'Alessio 2004: 47–8.

[37] I do not think that a translation like 'was truly leader' (Huxley 1975: 32) fully renders the implications of ἡγήσατο.

[38] Cf. e.g. Caduff 1986: 97–100.

ὥπασεν λαόν τε διαιτᾶν 'granted a city and a people to govern' (v. 66): Locrus abdicates to his son. This is quite compatible with the previous tradition, according to which he moved away. In this version, however, he did so not as a consequence of strife, but because he was pleased with his son's qualities. Pindar's song transfigures the tradition: every trace of a quarrel is removed.[39]

The city becomes the central focus of a wide geo-political network. Its links to Elis prefigure Epharmostus' Olympian victory.[40] The focus shifts away from 'local' origins, and the panhellenic appeal of the city is further stressed in the following verses. After the prestigious series of the local (ἐγχώριοι) kings, Opous, the city of the foreign son, is increased by the arrival of ξένοι and ἔποικοι. People came from Argos, Thebes, Arcadia and Olympia. They are all nameless: only the Aeginetan Menoetius, Patroclus' father, whose Opountian connection is already established in the *Iliad*, is mentioned, and he was probably the only one with a previous mythical tradition. All the places named are matched by the catalogue of Epharmostus' victories, which includes Argos (88), the Lycaea (95–6) and Pellene (97–8) in Arcadia, Thebes (98–9) and, of course, Olympia. Its openness to strangers, moreover, prefigures the relation of προξενία between the Theban Pindar and the Opountian Lampromachus (83–5). Under the sign of Zeus, the history of Opous turns out to be a prefiguration of the story of Epharmostus. By carefully selecting the material provided by previous genealogical tradition, Pindar has transformed its history into a song where every event and every place converge toward the blissful destiny experienced by the victor and the audience. Far from being one element in a series, it becomes the ultimate focal point of history and geography.

PINDAR, BACCHYLIDES, AND THE HESIODIC TRADITION

Olympian 9 is a good vantage point for exploring the way in which Pindar appropriates and transforms previous genealogical traditions. How can we say, however, that there is anything specifically *Hesiodic* in the tradition with which he engaged? Pindar is, after all, explicitly proud of the novelty of his song in introducing the myth (vv. 47–9). It is difficult, at the present stage of our knowledge, to pinpoint his personal contribution to the story,[41]

[39] Cf. Huxley 1975: 32; Bernardini 1983: 144–5.

[40] Cf. Wilamowitz 1922: 360; Bernardini 1983: 145.

[41] Cf., for some hypotheses, Bernardini 1983:139–40 and Gerber 2002: 46, with bibliography. It is very unlikely that Pindar is innovating in introducing Kaphya (Huxley 1975: 31 and Gerber 2002: 50), as, if he is indeed alluding to this story (as seems likely), the fact itself that he does not name the girl presupposes that his audience was already acquainted with her existence.

which may even lie in his choosing between previous variant traditions and inserting them in a skilful construction that emphasises the city's central role. The *Catalogue*, moreover, must have been only one of many genealogical poems current in Pindar's time. Its own textual shape, in fact, might have been quite fluctuating: the exact relationship and relative dates of the *Catalogue* and the *Megalai Ehoiai* still escape us (cf. D'Alessio, this volume). It has been argued that the traditions about the Deucalionids may derive from the most ancient core of the genealogical poem, representing an attempt at organising the genealogies of central Greece and Elis, which took place in Locris.[42] We may, therefore, quite naturally suspect that other poems on similar matters were in circulation. If we add the fact that our fragments of the *Catalogue* for this section are so scanty, and our uncertainty about the reconstruction of the poem so great, it may seem preposterous to assume that the *Catalogue* might have been the canonical 'source' for Pindar's song about Opous.

Nevertheless, I would argue that it is the case. On one hand, we do find in the scanty Hesiodic fragments most of the elements we need in order to understand Pindar's innovative reworking: the primeval couple, the stone-throwing, a Protogeneia, a lineage of women seduced by Zeus and other gods. If my interpretation is correct, fr. 234 even implies a discontinuity in the genealogy, with Locrus ceding his power to his son. On the other hand, we have plenty of evidence that the Hesiodic tradition was indeed canonical for Pindar, as it was for Bacchylides. Both repeatedly acknowledge the authority of Hesiod, and seem to have been influenced by a wide *corpus* of poems attributed to him.

The *Catalogue* was a textual sequel to Hesiod's *Theogony*, greatly expanding what in fact is the third catalogue of the unions of the gods which follows the story of Zeus's victory over the Titans. The first catalogue is a list of the unions of Zeus with immortal partners (vv. 886–923, with an appendix on Athena and Hephaestus, generated without partners), followed by a rather haphazard one of the unions of some minor gods (vv. 930–62). The second one is a list of the unions of the goddesses with mortals (vv. 963–1020),[43] preceded by a proper invocation to the Muses, stating the subject of the next lines. The *Catalogue* starts as a catalogue of the unions of the gods with mortal women, and is preceded by an address closely analogous to the one introducing the second catalogue of the *Theogony*. Critics are not unanimous about the relative dates of the three catalogues. The most widespread

[42] West 1985a:138–44, 164–6.

[43] Pausanias 1.3.1 refers to the content of 986–91 as being ἐν ἔπεσι τοῖς ἐς τὰς γυναῖκας, i.e. in the *Catalogue*.

opinion is that only the catalogue of Zeus's unions belongs to the original version, while the others were the result of later expansions, of which the *Catalogue* is by far the largest. M. L. West went as far as to reject Hesiod's authorship of the first catalogue (he thinks that the version we now read is a reworking of Hesiod's original one), while other critics, such as Casanova, Dräger and Arrighetti, assume that the *Catalogue* and the *Theogony* (including the final catalogic section) are the work of the same author;[44] R. Janko attributes the *Catalogue* and *Theogony* 901–1022 to the same milieu and to a period not significantly later (if not in fact earlier) than the rest of the *Theogony* and the *Works and Days* as we know them.[45] Though we cannot be certain about the textual shape of the *Theogony*/*Catalogue* complex in the early fifth century, it can be safely assumed that Pindar knew and alluded to both the first catalogue of the *Theogony* and the *Catalogue*.

One of Pindar's most famous songs, which opened the book of the *Hymns* in the Alexandrian edition, featured a long theogonic sequence, starting with a catalogue of Zeus's weddings with goddesses. It was possibly inserted in a song performed by the Muses and Apollo on the occasion of the wedding of Cadmus and Harmonia in Thebes.[46] The beginning of this section of the *Hymn* is preserved in fr. 30 S.–M. It starts with the words πρῶτον μὲν εὔβουλον Θέμιν οὐρανίαν (. . .) Μοῖραι (. . .) ἄγον 'first did the Moirai bring heavenly Themis of the wise counsel . . .', and the contrast with Hesiod, *Theogony* 901 δεύτερον ἠγάγετο λιπαρὴν Θέμιν 'secondly he married gleaming Themis' is as important as is the similarity between the two texts: Pindar's *Theogony* evokes the Hesiodic one in rewriting it.

The first words of fr. 30 almost certainly represent the beginning of the song of the Muses within Pindar's song.[47] The introduction, with the words πρῶτον μέν, is the signal of the start of their song. At the beginning of the *Theogony*, after a long hymnic section *addressed* to the Muses, Hesiod gives the floor to the goddesses, asking them: ταῦτά μοι ἔσπετε Μοῦσαι Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσαι| ἐξ ἀρχῆς, καὶ εἴπατ', ὅτι πρῶτον γενετ' αὐτῶν 'tell me these things, Muses who have your homes on Olympus, from the beginning, and say which first of these was born' (vv. 114–15).

[44] Cf. Casanova 1979a: 137 n. 4 (at least some sections and the general structure are Hesiodic), Dräger 1997: 1–26, Arrighetti 1998: 446–7.

[45] Cf. Janko 1982: 85–7, 221–5.

[46] For a more detailed treatment of the various problem involved in the reconstruction of this *Hymn*, cf. D'Alessio 2005 and forthcoming.

[47] Fr. 30 is likely to have been not only the beginning of the list but also the beginning of this entire narrative section, possibly a song of the Muses, which must have also circulated independently. This might explain why Hephaestion quotes his metrical examples from this passage and not, as he usually does, from the beginning of the ode, and why Aelius Aristides alludes to this song by the title Διὸς γάμος (fr. 31 S.–M.): cf. D'Alessio 2005.

From an enunciative point of view, with the words ἤτοι *μὲν πρώτιστα* χάος γένετο 'very first indeed did Chaos come into being', the song *to* the Muses becomes the song *of* the Muses.[48] The same signal is used once again by Pindar in introducing, within a more complex diegetic/enunciative frame,[49] another song of the Muses on the occasion of another wedding, that of Peleus and Thetis, in *Nemean* 5.25–6: αἱ δὲ *πρώτιστον μὲν* ὕμνησαν Διὸς ἄρχόμεναι σεμνὰν Θέτιν | Πηλέα θ' 'very first indeed they began from Zeus and hymned holy Thetis and Peleus'.

In this section of the *First Hymn*, Pindar is effectively rewriting what for him must have been the end of the *Theogony* and the beginning, or *a* beginning, of Hesiod's *Catalogue*. Pindar's rewording should not be taken as evidence of the existence of a Hesiodic list starting with Themis rather than Metis.[50] Quite apart from the difference in the sequence, the treatment of Zeus's wedding to Themis is a clear example of the completely different focus in the two texts. In Hesiod, only her giving birth to the Horai and the Moirai is mentioned; in Pindar, Zeus's first wedding evokes a great cosmic event. Heavenly and wise Themis is carried by golden mares through a bright way, leading from the springs of Ocean to the revered stairs of Olympus, so that she may become the ancient wife of the Saviour God. Her daughters, the Horai, are ἀλαθέας: they bring forth ἀλάθεια 'truth'. The Moirai, on the other hand, are not a product of this union: Fate is there already and sanctions the wedding.[51] Even if we suppose that in Pindar's time the union with Themis might have actually been the first of the list in Hesiod's catalogue, it is only in Pindar's text that it ceases being merely an element in the series and becomes the representation of the foundation of order itself.[52]

[48] Cf. Calame 1986: 46. [49] Cf. Cannatà Fera 2000: 140–7.

[50] So Wilamowitz, in various works, F. Jacoby, and Solmsen; cf. Solmsen 1949: 67–8, his *OCT* and 1982: 19 (for references cf. West 1966: *ad loc.* and Ercolani 2001: 185–6). West 1966: 406 adduces two arguments against this. First, it is possible that Pindar had mentioned Metis before, and that Themis is the first of the list following Metis. Secondly, Pindar may be intentionally offering a different and polemical version: cf. e.g. Kauer 1959: 13, who sees in the epithet ἀρχαία 'eine ablehnende polemisierende Stellungnahme'. The first hypothesis should be abandoned if fr. 30 S.–M. was in fact the beginning of Pindar's 'Theogony'(cf. n. 47 above).

[51] In our text of the *Theogony*, the Moirai are born twice: in vv. 217–22, they were daughters of the Night. Wilamowitz 1931–2: 1.265, 354 and n. 2 and Solmsen 1949: 36 and n. 112 think that both versions may be 'genuine': cf. also Solmsen 1982: 6–7. A cultic connection between the Moirai, Themis and Zeus in Thebes is suggested by the proximity of the shrine of the Moirai to those of Themis and Zeus Agoraios (Pausanias 9.25.4).

[52] On the cosmic elements in the background of fr. 30 and on the new meaning of Themis' union with Zeus, cf.: Snell 1975: 85–6; Hardie 2000 (though I do not share his conviction that this reflects mystic or Orphic lore); D'Alessio 2005. We do not know how Pindar's catalogue went on: cf. Snell 1975: 85–9; Hardie 2000 and, for an alternative view, D'Alessio 2005 and forthcoming.

Hesiod's influence on Pindar and Bacchylides and, more generally, on archaic melic poetry has never been the subject of a comprehensive study, and certainly deserves greater attention.[53] He is the only poet quoted by name by both Pindar and Bacchylides. As often happens in such cases, he is quoted as the authority for a *gnome*, rather than as the source of a story. Both quotations are interesting examples of the kind of fluctuations in the transmission of the texts belonging to the Hesiodic *corpus* in this period. Bacchylides quotes Hesiod towards the end of one of his grandest epinicians, Poem 5:

Βοιωτὸς ἀνὴρ τάδε φών[ησεν, γλυκειᾶν
Ἡσίοδος πρόπολος
Μουσᾶν, ὃν <ἂν> ἀθάνατοι τι[μῶσι, τούτωι
καὶ βροτῶν φήμαν ἔπ[εσθαι.
πείθομαι εὐμαρέως
εὐκλέα, κελεύθου γλῶσσαν οὐ[
πέμπειν Ἱέρωνι.

A man from Boeotia said thus, Hesiod, servant
of the [sweet] Muses:
he who is honoured by the gods is followed also
by good renown among mortals.
I am willing to obey
and send a tongue of praise to Hieron,
not [swerving] from the path [of justice]

Hesiod's *gnome* prepares the ground for Bacchylides' task: in his praise he is, in fact, following Hesiod. And, as Hesiod is a servant of the Muses, Bacchylides too is χρυσάμπυκος Οὐρανίας κλεινὸς θεράπων (vv. 13–14). The image recalls *Theogony* 100, where, for the first time in what was to prove a very long series, the poet is Μουσάων θεράπων 'servant of the Muses'. The *gnome* itself, however, is not found in the transmitted works of Hesiod, and it has been assumed that Bacchylides may have been referring to some lost passage from the Hesiodic *corpus*.[54] A similar utterance occurs at Theognis 169, and the concept is certainly a traditional one in Greek

[53] *Loci similes* are listed in the editions of Rzach (Hesiod, supplemented by West 1969, 1986) and Turyn (Pindar). Lübbert 1881 is mainly devoted to mythological matters from the *Catalogue* and *Megalai Ehoiai*. Cf. Buzio 1938: 84–101 on Pindar and Bacchylides. Schwartz 1960 has a useful chapter on the influence of the *Catalogue* on later literature, with longer sections on Stesichorus (549–58) and Pindar (564–70). Some comments on Alcaeus and the *Catalogue* in Meyerhoff 1984: 16–17, 104–6.

[54] Cf. Maehler 1982: *ad loc*. Merkelbach and West on fr. 344 (and already Sitzler, cf. E. Buchhols, *Anthologie aus den Lyrikern der Griechen*, 4th ed. (Leipzig 1898) II 154 [*non vidi*], quoted by Rzach *ad loc*.) think that this may be a rather loose paraphrase of *Theogony* 81–97, but the point in the two passages is surely different. Snell thought that the reference was to the *Precepts of Cheiron*, on which see below.

archaic thought. The exact reference is elusive: it may come from a lost work attributed to Hesiod; it may represent a passage from the *Theogony* not extant in the transmitted text, or Bacchylides may be attributing a traditional sentence to Hesiod, projecting his own role as a praise poet on to the authority of his predecessor. The first solution is on the whole the likeliest one, but, as far as the *function* of the quotation is concerned, the last one is probably closer to the mark. It is not without poignancy that Hesiod is first introduced as 'a man from Boeotia', words that, at first hearing, may well have misled the audience into thinking that a reference to Pindar is to follow. Instead, Bacchylides presents himself as the direct heir of Pindar's authoritative Boeotian predecessor.

Pindar quotes Hesiod by name in an apparently more straightforward context, at *Isthmian* 6.66–9:

> Λάμπων δὲ μελέταν
> ἔργοις ὀπάζων Ἡσιό-
> δου μάλα τιμᾶι τοῦτ' ἔπος,
> υἱοῖσί τε φράζων παραινεῖ.
>
> Lampon,
> bestowing care to his actions,
> truly respects this saying of Hesiod,
> and, in declaring it, he exhorts his sons.[55]

The reference here is to *Works and Days* 412, where the timely action of the careful farmer earns a general comment: μελέτη δέ τοι ἔργον ὀφέλλει ('care is good for work').[56] The syntactical context requires a change in the main verb, and Pindar reformulates the sentence in such a way that it resonates with the echo of another epic line, from the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* 120, where it was the careful god who ἔργωι δ' ἔργον ὄπαζε 'devoted labour upon labour'.[57] The textual triangle is interesting in itself. What is more interesting, however, is the function of the Hesiodic quotation in this context. Pindar is not simply quoting a sentence: he is making his patron quote it. And, more remarkably, he is representing Lampon in the act of impersonating, through this quotation, Hesiod's paraenetic stance: Lampon himself παραινεῖ. The choice of the verb is not casual:

[55] For the articulation of the sentence in these lines, cf. Privitera 1982: *ad loc.*

[56] Kurke 1990: 89 n. 18 points out that ἔργοις in this passage may be a pun alluding to the title of Hesiod's poem. Maehler 1982: 2.284 cleverly suggests that in Bacchylides 13.191–2 (another, earlier, ode for Lampon's family) μελέτα[ν τε] βροτωφ[ε]λέα may allude to the same Hesiodic passage.

[57] The interference seems to have escaped the commentators of the three passages. It is not impossible that the *Homeric Hymn* may in fact be reusing and modifying an older paraenetic sentence with an imperative (and with an operative digamma): ἔργωι ἔργον ὄπαζε.

Pindar uses it only once again, in *Pythian* 6.19–22, where again the context involves a parental relation. The sentence exemplifies the correct attitude of Thrasybulus towards the gods (and Zeus in particular) and toward his parents (namely his father, Xenocrates); in this, he is following the precepts imparted by Cheiron to the young Achilles. These were the object of a poem, the Χείρωνος ὑποθῆκαι, circulating under Hesiod's name until Aristophanes of Byzantium judged it to be spurious (cf. Quintilian 1.1.5). The scholia to the Pindaric passage preserve the beginning of the work, known also as παραινέσεις Χείρωνος 'the advice of Cheiron' (Pausanias 9.31.5). Pindar alludes to this poem also in *Nemean* 3.43–63, as possibly Bacchylides did also in a dithyramb (27.34–8). Snell has conjectured that the Hesiod quotation in Bacchylides 5 alludes to a passage from this lost poem, and if the Ὑποθῆκαι were indeed thought to be by Hesiod in the fifth century, it would turn out to have been one of the most widely known poems in his corpus.[58]

In *Isthmian* 6.66–9 Hesiod is, at first sight, a model for the patron more than for the poet. The poet too, however, has his Hesiodic share in the ode. The main myth told by Pindar is that of the unexpected arrival of Heracles at Telamon's house, his prayer for the birth of his host's son, the appearance of Zeus's eagle (αἰετός) as an answer to the prayer, and the consequent naming of the baby as Aias. The story establishes a network of relationships between Thebes and Aegina, Heracles and Telamon, and Pindar and his patron and host, Lampon. And, as the scholia tell us, it has been taken from the *Megalai Ehoiai*, a poem which went under the name of Hesiod.[59]

The same poem is adduced by an Asclepiades[60] (scholium to *Pythian* 4.61 Drachm.) to explain the role of the hero Euphemus in the Libyan diversion of the Argonauts. There are at least two other cases where Pindar narrates a full-scale myth for which the scholia point out a Hesiodic source. One is the story of Coronis in *Pythian* 3, and the other that of Cyrene in

[58] Cf., in general, Kurke 1990.

[59] According to the scholia, Pindar is innovating in having Heracles address the prayer to Zeus on behalf of Telamon at his host's request, while in Hesiod the initiative was Heracles'. Some scholars have doubted the information provided by the scholia, and have supposed that the situation in Hesiod was quite different (cf. Schwartz 1960: 391 n. 6 and the apparatus of Merkelbach and West), but there seems to be no serious reason for such a conclusion: cf. D'Alessio (this volume, pp. 192–4). As for Pindar's innovation, this may be seen as making Heracles' situation closer to that of the poet, whose song has been requested by his host Lampon.

[60] Most probably Asclepiades of Myrlea: cf. Adler 1914: 41–2 and 44–5; Schwartz 1960: 139–40; D'Alessio 2000: 94–5 and nn. 18–20 (also on his general interest for ἱστορίαι in interpreting poetic texts, with previous bibliography).

Pythian 9.[61] The latter is quoted simply as an *ehoie* by the scholia, and it is very difficult to know if this refers to an episode from the *Catalogue*, or from the *Megalai Ehoiai*. The evidence available suggests that Cyrene was very probably mentioned in the *Catalogue*, but that the *ehoie* referred to in the Pindaric scholia may perhaps belong to the *Megalai Ehoiai*.[62] The case of the story of Coronis and Asclepius is particularly difficult to sort out, as an alternative version is attributed to Hesiod too, where the mother of Asclepius is Arsinoe. Moreover, in this case some scholars have argued that the Coronis-*ehoie* may not belong to the *Catalogue*, though there is some evidence in favour of such an attribution.[63] Reconstructing the ancient shapes of the genealogical poems attributed to Hesiod on the basis of the present evidence is an extremely difficult task. The *Megalai Ehoiai* seems to have been a different work from that which went under the title of *Catalogue of Women* or *Ehoiai*, being either a substantially expanded and altered version of the latter, or, perhaps more probably, an altogether separate poem belonging to the same poetic tradition.[64] That Pindar imitated the *Megalai Ehoiai* is explicitly stated in the case of *Isthmian* 6. This does not imply, however, that he knew only this 'Hesiodic' poem, and he may well have been familiar with more than one. Both he and Bacchylides seem to have known and imitated, apart from the catalogue poems, other poems of the Hesiodic corpus: a probable case is the one, mentioned above, of the *Precepts of Cheiron*; another very likely one is that of the *Wedding of Ceyx*,[65]

[61] Another probable case is that of Peleus, Acastus and Hippolyte narrated by Pindar, focusing on different episodes, in *Nem.* 3, 4, and 5: cf. Hesiod frr. 208 and 209 (and, for the capture of Iolcus, fr. 212b.7). Pindar may be following Hesiod here too, though, as scholia Pind. *Nem.* 4.95 Drachm. say, the story was present in several sources. Cf. Meyerhoff 1984: 104–6; March 1987: 3–26.

[62] Cf. D'Alessio (this volume, pp. 206–7).

[63] Cf. D'Alessio (this volume, pp. 208–10).

[64] Cf. D'Alessio (this volume), with previous bibliography.

[65] For Bacchylides, cf. Barrett 1954. Pindar fr. 168a and b described the voracity of Heracles βουφάγος. The first fragment places the episode during a visit to the Lapith Coronus, when the hero devoured a whole ox; the second one seems to describe a competition in which Heracles and another character devour two oxen, a situation remarkably similar to the context between Heracles and Lepreus, narrated in the *Wedding of Ceyx* (fr. 265, cf. Merkelbach–West 1965: 306–7). Lehnus 1973: 11–18 suggested that fr. 168b may have actually have referred to that same episode: *contra*, Bernardini 1976. Anyway, even if Pindar was narrating a different event, the points of contact with the 'Hesiodic' poem are such as to suggest that he, like Bacchylides, may have been acquainted with it (Lehnus 1973: 16–18). A further interesting feature is that in fr. 168b.3, Pindar uses the riddling periphrasis πυρὶ δεῖπνον to indicate the burning coal used to cook the oxen, while the 'Hesiodic' poem uses an elaborate 'kenning' to describe the acorns and the wood used for roasting them. The acorn is μητὴρ μητρός, while the pieces of oak-wood are the παῖδες or τέκεα. I. Rutherford (*per litteras*) has suggested to me that the expression μητέρα μητρός (Hes. fr. 266a.9, cf. 266c and d) may also have prompted Pindar's riddle ματρὸς δὲ ματέρ' ἐμᾶς ἔτεκον (. . .) πολεμίοι πυρὶ πλαγεῖσαν in *Pae.* 2.28–31. This is quite likely, though 'abnormal family relationships are . . . very common elements' in ancient riddles (Merkelbach–West 1965: 316, quoting *AP* 14.41 μητέρ' ἐμὴν τίκτω καὶ τίκτομαι 'to pick an example at random').

a poem whose general plot closely resembles that of the Heracles/Telamon episode of *Isthmian* 6.[66] A further case, possibly involving the Hesiodic *Catabasis of Perithous*, will be discussed below.

The 'Hesiodic' catalogue poems, quite apart from their interest as ambitious and comprehensive genealogical systematisations, obviously were an important source of appealing tales. Pindar and, very probably, Bacchylides found in them an important repertoire of mainly 'women's stories', from which they drew in constructing their own songs. For Pindar's *Victory Odes*, it is mostly thanks to the scholia that we may detect a relation with a Hesiodic model. In other instances, we may miss crucial evidence which would allow us to draw such a conclusion. This happens for the story of Pitane, Euadne and Iamos in *Olympian* 6, which shows patterns typical of the Hesiodic poems, though there is no evidence that 'Hesiod' ever treated such a subject.[67] And, even when we know that Pindar is adapting a Hesiodic story, it is often impossible to detect the extent to which he is manipulating and innovating in his material.[68]

An important exception is the story of Coronis in *Pythian* 3, where the scholia and a few other sources give some further detail of the treatment of the myth in Hesiod. This has been the object of extensive bibliography, and it is not possible to deal here with this complex and fascinating ode in detail.[69] What I would like to emphasise is that Pindar's innovations presuppose previous knowledge of the Hesiodic version in the audience. In Hesiod, Coronis, impregnated by Apollo, marries Ischys, and a raven brings the news to Apollo at Delphi (fr. 60 M.–W.). In Pindar's story, there is no wedding, but rather a clandestine union between Coronis and Ischys, and the god has no need of a messenger to know about it (vv. 27–30):

[66] Cf. D'Alessio (this volume, p. 194).

[67] Cf. Schwartz 1960: 296 and 567–70, where the evidence adduced (the presence of Euadne in Hygin. *Fab.* 157) is not compelling. Another promising 'Hesiodic' poem that may have provided a suitable model for the story of Iamos is the *Melampodia*. The silence of the scholia for this ode suggests, however, that there might have been no 'Hesiodic' model.

[68] In the case of *Pythian* 9, Janko 1984: 302 argues that Cheiron's prophetic speech to Apollo (vv. 43–65) is modelled on the prophetic speech of an unnamed goddess to Cheiron in *POxy* 2509, which, following Casanova 1969a, he attributes to the *Catalogue*, where it might have been a later part of the same Cyrene-*ehoie* (according to the scholia Pindar's main model); for this fragment, cf. Hunter (this volume) pp. 257–9. A particularly difficult problem is whether the Libyan part of the myth was already in Hesiod (so, e.g., West 1985a: 85–8, 132, more cautious Giannini in Gentili 1995: 232–3 with n. 1), or whether the *ehoie* was set only in Thessaly (e.g. Janko 1982: 248 n. 38; Dräger 1993: 221–8; already Lübbert 1881: 7, with previous bibliography). The first solution is perhaps preferable, but the *ehoie* imitated by Pindar may have also been part of the *Megalai Ehoiai*: cf. D'Alessio (this volume, pp. 206–7).

[69] Cf. the recent commentary by Gentili 1995, with previous bibliography, adding: Kyriakou 1994: 32–40; Dräger 1997: 67–112 (69–71 more specifically on Pindar's changes); Burgess 2001.

οὐδ' ἔλαθεν σκοπόν· ἐν δ' ἄρα μηλοδόκωι
Πυθῶνι τόσσαις ἄϊεν ναοῦ βασιλεύς
Λοξίας, κοινᾶνι παρ' εὐθυτάτωι γνώμαν πιθών,
πάντα ἰσάντι νόωι.

but she did not escape the watcher: and in Pytho,
receptacle of sacrifices, Loxias, the king of the temple,
heard of it, persuaded in his heart by his most direct comrade,
his all-knowing mind.

It is only in verse 30 that the listener, expecting, as in Hesiod, a raven as watcher and messenger, comes to realise that in Pindar the watcher (σκοπός) and the comrade (κοινάν) of the god are, in fact, both Apollo's omniscient wisdom. Pindar is skilfully playing with the expectation of the audience.[70] In recurring to the story of Coronis, he has not chosen a foreign and recondite source: his technique would not have been effective had Hesiod's poem not been familiar to his Syracusan audience.[71] This is an important sign of the popularity of such Hesiodic poems in the early fifth century.

In many cases, it is difficult to assess the possible weight of the Hesiodic model, since this may have been only one among many.[72] Bacchylides 11 offers one of the best preserved versions of the myth of Proitos' daughters: the story, however, was current in many variants already in the archaic period and two, or possibly three, different tales about their wanderings

[70] Cf. Huxley 1975: 15.

[71] Cf. also Schwartz 1960: 570–2, on the possible influence of the *Catalogue* on Epicharmus.

[72] To take just a couple of examples, it can be argued that the canonical number of thirteen suitors of Hippodameia killed by Oenomaos in Pind. *Ol.* 1.79 and fr. 135 S.–M. (= *Threnoi* fr. 61 Cannatà Fera) may go back to 'Hesiod' (the list quoted in the scholia and the one given by Paus. 6.21.10 draw on the *Megalai Ehoiai*, not the *Catalogue*; cf. D'Alessio in this volume, pp. 181–2), though several different lists were known. The story of Caeneus' invulnerability and his killing by the Centaurs was told by Pindar in fr. 128f S.–M. (= *Threnoi* fr. 57 Cannatà Fera). The only earlier source known to have mentioned the hero's invulnerability (and his metamorphosis from woman into man) is Hesiod fr. 87, and the *Catalogue* (fr. 88) seems to have known also his killing by the Centaurs. The episode is attested in the figurative arts since the seventh century: cf. Cannatà Fera 1990: 160 on vv. 7–8; Laufer 1985. In *Nem.* 4.25–7 and *Isth.* 6.31–5, Pindar tells how Heracles attacked, in succession, Troy, Cos, and the giant Alcyoneus in Phlegrae (the Troy/Cos sequence may have been followed by Phlegrae also in fr. 33a S.–M., but this is not certain). The Troy/Cos sequence is present also in *Il.* 14.550–6. In the Mestra-*ehoie,* fr. 43a.63–5 M.–W., Heracles' arrival at Cos is said to have followed the Troy episode; this is followed by a mention of the Phlegrae episode. It seems that the author was starting from a Troy/Cos/Phlegrae sequence but had to disrupt it, since the Cos episode had to be mentioned first (for a textual attempt at making the sequence more explicit, cf. Casanova 1978: 202 n. 4). The sequence must reflect some longer earlier narrative on Heracles: cf. also Janko 1992: 191–2.

are attributed to 'Hesiod'. One of them may, perhaps, lie behind the song of Bacchylides, but it is difficult to attribute it to any particular poem.[73]

Another myth current in various versions, including a possibly 'Hesiodic' one, is that of Heracles' encounter with Meleager in the Underworld, in which the Aetolian hero tells of his own death. This was the subject of songs by Pindar (frr. 249a and 346, from *Dithyramb* 2 S.–M.) and Bacchylides (*Victory Ode* 5).[74] Meleager is represented as telling his fate in the Underworld to another hero, Theseus, in a papyrus fragment assigned by Merkelbach and West (fr. 280) to the Πειρίθου κατάβασις 'Descent of Perithous' (attributed to Hesiod in the list of his poems at Pausanias 9.31.5).[75] This fragment has also, perhaps more plausibly, been attributed to the epic poem *Minyas* (fr. 7 Bernabé), which is known to have featured a *katabasis*, as well as an account of Meleager's death (fr. 4 Bernabé = 3 Davies). In the first two lines of the papyrus fragment, Meleager tells how he was not killed by a mortal enemy, but by Moira and Apollo. Merkelbach has proposed this reconstruction:

[οὐ δύνατ' οὐδείς
ἀνθρώπων ὀλ]έσαι με βίηφί τε δουρί̣ τ̣ε̣ μακρῶι
ἀλλά με Μοῖρ' ὀλο]ὴ καὶ Λητοῦς ὤλεσ̣ε̣[ν υἱός

[no mortal could]
kill me with his strength and long spear,
[but deadly Fate] and the son of Leto killed [me]

Verse 3 in this reconstruction would be very close to a line uttered by the dying Patroclus in *Iliad* 16.849 (with ἔκτανεν instead of ὤλεσεν). If this is correct, this sentence may be echoed by Meleager's use of the expression ὤ]λεσε μοῖρ' ὀλοά in B. 5.121, though in this case it does not describe his own death.[76] This, or a very similar line in another catabatic poem, may have been the model of Deiphobus' verses at Virgil, *Aeneid* 6.511–12:

[73] The *Catalogue*, the *Melampodia* and, perhaps, also the *Megalai Ehoiai* may have told the story in different ways. For an assessment of the different sources and versions, cf. Maehler 1982: 2. 195–202; Dowden 1989: 71–115; Casadio 1994: 51–121.

[74] Another episode connected to Meleager, that of his sister Deianeira (ominously introduced in Bacchylides 5.165–75) and Heracles, leading to the hero's death, is the object of Bacchylides' dithyramb, Poem 16: cf. Hes. fr. 25, where the episode is preceded by Meleager's death and by a comparison between Heracles and Meleager. For a survey of the mythical traditions on Meleager and on Deianeira, cf. March 1987: 29–46, 49–77; Bremmer 1988; Grossardt 2001.

[75] Cf. also Merkelbach 1950: 256–7; Schwartz 1960: 27–9; Grossardt 2001: 45. Merkelbach 1950: 256 mentions the possibility of reading ἠ̣' οἵη at the beginning of col. ii. 6 ('leider bleibt das fraglich': the reading is not mentioned in the apparatus of Merkelbach–West).

[76] Noted in the apparatus of Merkelbach–West. For the Iliadic parallel, cf. already Merkelbach 1950: 259. For the integration of line 2, cf. Merkelbach 1952.

> sed me fata mea et scelus exitiale Lacaenae
> his mersere malis
>
> but my destiny and the deadly crime of the Spartan woman
> plunged me in these evils.[77]

It is uncertain, however, whether the poem represented in the papyrus fragment was the only possible model for Bacchylides and Virgil, since several clues seem to point to the existence of an archaic epic poem where the meeting between Meleager and Heracles himself may have been described.[78]

The passage which comes closest to a Hesiodic catalogue in the preserved songs of Pindar and Bacchylides is the list of Asopus' daughters in Bacchylides 9. The ode is composed in praise of a Nemean victory of Automedes of Phlious. The first mythical part is devoted to the foundation of the Nemean Games by the seven Argive leaders moving against Thebes. The second part begins as a praise of Asopus, a river in the north-eastern Peloponnese, close both to the victor's home town and to the place of his victory. This leads to the praise and catalogue of his daughters, who were loved by gods, and of their descendants (9.40–52). At least some of the daughters were listed in the first part of the third triad (vv. 53–65), before the poet moved to the description of the actual celebration in Phlious. The catalogue is fragmentary: it certainly included Thebe and Aegina, followed by at least two or three other daughters (only two epithets are preserved).[79] Interestingly enough, judging by the preserved ἤ at the beginning of verse 62,[80] the list might have been co-ordinated through the disjunctive particle, recalling the ἠ' οἵη formula. The catalogue is certainly not Bacchylides' invention: it has been argued that it may have been developed by a Corinthian epic source, perhaps Eumelus.[81] As Maehler correctly remarks, there seems to have been no trace of Asopus in the Hesiodic *Catalogue*. West, however, has argued that an Asopid section is the most likely hypothesis to account for the references 'to several persons or families that other sources represent as descended from daughters of Asopus'.[82] Once again, we can see how the

[77] With *sed me fata* perfectly matching ἀλλά με Μοῖρα and *exitiale* corresponding to ὀλοή but moved to the next noun. Robertson 1980a: 275 briefly notes the general similarity between the stories of Meleager and Deiphobus, 'who is likewise the victim of a cruel fate and a malign woman', referring to the whole section in *Aen.* 6.494–547 and without drawing a comparison with the papyrus passage (though he must clearly have had it in mind).

[78] Cf. Lavecchia 2000: 196–9; Grossardt 2001: 45, with previous bibliography. If, as Robertson 1980a argues, this poem was the *Aigimios*, it would bring us back to the 'Hesiodic' corpus.

[79] For various possible solutions on the other names, cf. Maehler 1982: 2.168.

[80] But ἢ[δέ (Jebb) is a viable alternative.

[81] Cf. Bowra 1938; Maehler 1982: 2.145–6 with previous bibliography, Fearn 2003: 358–62. On Eumelus, cf. now West 2002: 126 n. 91.

[82] West 1985a: 100.

lyric poet exploits the catalogic technique only in so far as its focus coincides with the object of praise: by extolling the Asopus and its daughters, the river (like nearby Phlious and Nemea) is depicted as the very centre of the whole world (vv. 40–4).[83] Pindar too knows the myth but refers to it only in order to highlight the genealogical link between his own hometown, Thebes, and Aegina, when he is praising an Aeginetan patron (*Isthmian* 8.15a–26).[84]

In his magnificent praise of Aegina in *Paean* 6.123 ff., her union with Zeus is imaginatively evoked. Following a pattern typical in catalogic poetry,[85] Zeus' love displaces her from her father's abode to the island where she becomes a new focal centre, dominating and illuminating with her light the Dorian sea. In this case, not surprisingly, no mention is made of her being an item in a catalogue, lest the light of 'the bright star of Zeus Hellanius' (125–6) should be dimmed.[86]

[83] It is interesting that Corinna, the melic poet who seems to have been richest in catalogic sections, focuses only on catalogues of local concern. Her daughters of Asopus (fr. 654 ii–iv *PMG*, on which cf. Bowra 1938; Page 1953: 26–7; West 1996; Gentili–Lomiento 2001) are born to the Boeotian Asopus. Another local catalogue was that of the daughters of Euonymus (fr. 660 *PMG*), and contrast the catalogue of the seers in the Ptoan oracle (in fr. 654 iv 28–41) with the Delphian one in Pindar's *Paean* 8 (on the latter's antecedents, cf. Rutherford 2001: 217 and, on its possible Hesiodic background, 224, with previous bibliography). On Corinna's date, I refer to Palumbo Stracca 1993, in particular 411–12.

[84] Cf. also *Ol.* 6.84f., where the link between Thebes and the patron's home town is provided by Metopa, Asopus' wife.

[85] For the motif, cf. above, n. 32.

[86] He may have done the same when telling of Thebe's union with Zeus (fr. 290 S.–M.). I am very grateful to Richard Hunter, who read a draft of this chapter and improved its English.

CHAPTER 10

The Hesiodic Catalogue *and Hellenistic poetry*

Richard Hunter

LOOKING FOR THE *CATALOGUE*

Hesiod's importance for the poetry of the third-century BC is a familiar fact of literary history.[1] Most famously, of course, Callimachus presents the *Aitia* as a *Theogony* for the modern day through the opening reworking of Hesiod's meeting with the Muses on Mt Helicon (frr. 3–4 Massimilla = frr. 1.41–5, 2 Pf.),[2] thus himself laying claim to the title which his contemporary Hermesianax of Colophon bestowed upon Hesiod, πάσης ἤρανος ἱστορίης 'keeper of all knowledge/research' (Hermesianax fr. 7.22 Powell).[3] Hesiod's most long-lasting influence on the Western poetic tradition, however, is mediated through the *Phainomena* of Aratus; in its own right, and through its multiple Latin translations, this poem on the constellations and weather-signs became one of the best known and most widely read of all classical texts in later antiquity and the Middle Ages.[4] In the *Phainomena*, Hesiod (and, above all, the *Works and Days*) is a model as ubiquitously

[1] Many verbal echoes of Hesiod in Hellenistic and imperial Greek literature may be traced through Rzach 1902, Schwartz 1960: 582–608, and West 1969 and 1986. Of particular importance for individual poets are Campbell 1981 (Apollonius), Fakas 2001 (Aratus), and Reinsch-Werner 1976 (Callimachus); I am much indebted to these works. For the importance of the shrine of the Muses at Helicon in the third-century, cf. Hunter in Fantuzzi–Hunter 2004: 52 [= 2002: 71], with earlier bibliography. The present chapter does not consider the Hellenistic *Nachleben* of the Hesiodic *Aspis*, though I hope to return to the matter elsewhere; whatever this poem's relation to the *Catalogue* (cf. Martin in this volume), some of its structural features (e.g. the profusion of similes at vv. 374ff., cf. the end of *Argonautica* 3) foreshadow Hellenistic experimentation in interesting ways.

[2] For Hesiod and the *Aitia*, cf. Cameron 1995 *passim*, Hunter in Fantuzzi–Hunter 2004: 51–60 [= 2002: 71–81], where I argue for an intellectual affiliation of the *Aitia* to (especially) the *Theogony*, of a kind not considered by Cameron 1995 in his wish to downplay the links between the two poets (cf. esp. pp. 371–2). No one, of course, would wish to deny 'that Callimachus's dreaming alter ego enjoyed a new and altogether unhesiodic relationship with the Muses' (Cameron 1995: 370), but that is another matter.

[3] Cf. below, pp. 261–2.

[4] On the ancient reception of Aratus see E. Maass, *Aratea* (Berlin 1892), J. Martin, *Histoire du texte des Phénoménes d'Aratos* (Paris 1956), Kidd 1997: 36–48; useful summary by M. Fantuzzi in *Der neue Pauly s.v.* Aratos.

visible as the god's heavenly signs, in structure, language, form and meaning,[5] and this relationship was celebrated by Callimachus in a famous, and very variously interpreted,[6] epigram:

> Ἡσιόδου τό τ' ἄεισμα καὶ ὁ τρόπος· οὐ τὸν ἀοιδὸν
> ἔσχατον, ἀλλ' ὀκνέω μὴ τὸ μελιχρότατον
> τῶν ἐπέων ὁ Σολεὺς ἀπέμαξατο· χαίρετε λεπταί
> ῥήσεις, Ἀρήτου σύντονος ἀγρυπνίη.
>
> Callimachus, *Epigram* 27 Pf.

Hesiod's is the song and the style; not the poet in every detail, but I would say that the man from Soloi has skimmed off the sweetest of his verses. Hail subtle phrases, the concentrated wakefulness of Aratus!

Unsurprisingly, it is certain Hesiodic 'purple passages' which seem to be most important for third-century poets, and – given the status of our texts – those which we can most readily detect will, inevitably, be from the *Theogony* and the *Works and Days*. Thus, the 'poetic investiture' of the *Theogony* lies behind, not only the introductory frame of Callimachus' *Aitia*, but also the extraordinary poetic journey of Theocritus' Seventh *Idyll* (*Thalysia*). So too, the famous passage on the relations between the Muses, 'kings' (ἐκ δὲ Διὸς βασιλῆες), and poets (*Theog*. 68–103) became a central text for poetic explorations of the nature of Ptolemaic kingship (Callimachus, *Hymn to Zeus*; Theocritus, *Encomium of Ptolemy*),[7] as also did the description of the 'Just City' from the *WD*, which supplies, for example, the paradigmatic model for the blessings of Ptolemaic Egypt in Theocritus' *Encomium* (and cf. also Callimachus, *Hymn to Artemis* 124–35).[8] The Hesiodic maiden Dike (*WD* 256–62) found unexpected new life as the 'patron saint' of curse-poetry[9] to whom the aggrieved could turn:

> μείδησεν δὲ Δίκη παρθένος ἀθάνατος
> ἥτε ἀναπεπταμένοις ἀτενὲς βλέπε[ι ὀφθαλμοῖσιν],
> ἐν δὲ Διὸς Κρονίδεω στήθεσιν ἕδριάει.
>
> *SH* 970.1–3[10]

And Justice smiled, the immortal maiden who glares straight, eyes wide-open, and sits in the breast of Zeus, son of Kronos.

Aratus incorporated the maiden into his own version of the Hesiodic 'Myth of Ages' (*Phainomena* 96–136):

[5] Cf. Fakas 2001, Hunter in Fantuzzi–Hunter 2004: 224–45 [= 2002: 302–22].
[6] Helpful survey in Cameron 1995: 374–9.
[7] Cf. Fuhrer–Hunter 2002: 164–75; Hunter 2003b.
[8] Cf. Hunter 2003b: 156; Erler 1987.
[9] Cf. below, p. 263.
[10] For the text cf. Huys 1991. For Dike in curse-poetry, cf. also Euphorion, *SH* 415 col. ii.

λόγος γε μὲν ἐντρέχει ἄλλος
ἀνθρώποις, ὡς δῆθεν ἐπιχθονίη πάρος ἦεν,
ἤρχετο δ᾽ ἀνθρώπων κατεναντίη, οὐδέ ποτ᾽ ἀνδρῶν
οὐδέ ποτ᾽ ἀρχαίων ἠνήνατο φῦλα γυναικῶν,
ἀλλ᾽ ἀναμὶξ ἐκάθητο καὶ ἀθανάτη περ ἐοῦσα.
καί ἑ Δίκην καλέεσκον. Aratus, *Phainomena* 100–5

There is, however, another story current among men, that formerly she was indeed on earth, and came face to face with men, and did not ever spurn the tribes of men and women of old, but sat in their midst although she was immortal. And they called her Justice.

The scholium on v. 104 cites v. 6 of the opening of the Hesiodic *Catalogue* as the origin of Aratus' notion that the immortal Dike used to 'sit among mortals':

ξυναὶ γὰρ τότε δαῖτες ἔσαν, ξυνοὶ δὲ θόωκοι
ἀθανάτοις τε θεοῖσι καταθνητοῖς τ᾽ ἀνθρώποις.
Hesiod fr. 1.6–7[11]

For then were the feasts in common, common too the seats for the immortal gods and mortal men.

It does, indeed, seem very likely that the frame of the *Catalogue of Women*, which traces the history of the world from the free-mingling of gods and mortals to their ultimate separation in the catastrophic closure of the golden age, has contributed to the Aratean vision. It is certainly tempting to see the 'Hesiodic tag' φῦλα γυναικῶν in *Phainomena* 103 as a 'source' allusion to the Hesiodic poem (cf. fr. 1.1).[12]

If echoes of the *Theogony* and the *Works and Days* dominate the Hellenistic use of Hesiod, we need not put this down solely to the fact that we know far more about them than we do about the *Catalogue*. As far as we can tell, the *Catalogue* was, throughout Hellenistic and later antiquity, one of the 'Hesiodic big three', but it was always very much third of three. There will have been more than one reason for this – its original status as a continuation of the *Theogony* not least among them[13] – but we will consider below other reasons why Hellenistic poets, however often they drew genealogical or mythological details from the *Catalogue*, may have found it a less congenial text for 'reworking' than the other two Hesiodic poems. The division of *Theogony* from *Catalogue* was perhaps a product of

[11] For other Hellenistic echoes of these verses, cf. below, pp. 247–8.
[12] Cf. e.g. Fakas 2001: 153–4. [13] Cf. above, p. 1, and the following note.

third-century scholarship,[14] but overt reflections of this in scholarly poetry are hard to find. An epigram variously ascribed to Asclepiades and 'Archias' describes Hesiod's poetic output as μακάρων γένος ἔργα τε . . . καὶ γένος ἀρχαίων . . . ἡμιθέων, 'the genealogies of the gods, the *Works*, and the genealogies of the demigods of old' (*AP* 9.64.7–8 = *HE* 1024–5), and this would appear to refer to the three poems, but all indications point to a date for the epigram well after the third century; as μακάρων γένος cites *Theogony* 33 (as well as glossing Θεογονία), so γένος ἀρχαίων . . . ἡμιθέων 'genealogies of the demigods of old' might perhaps allude to γένος κυδρῶν βασιλήων 'the race of glorious kings' in a passage of the proem to the *Catalogue* which effectively gives the subject of that poem as both the women of the heroic age *and* their sons (fr.1.14–16).[15] More tantalising for the third century is the speculation that Callimachus might have referred to the *Catalogue* as well as the *Theogony* ('Chaos') and the *Works and Days* (v. 5 = *WD* 265) in describing Hesiod's meeting with the Muses at the head of the *Aitia*:

ποιμένι μῆλα νέμοντι παρ' ἴχνιον ὀξέος ἵππου
'Ησιόδωι Μουσέων ἑσμὸς ὅτ' ἠντίασεν
μ]έν οἱ Χάεος γενεσ[
] ἐπὶ πτέρνης ὕδα[
τεύχων ὡς ἑτέρωι τις ἑῶι κακὸν ἤπατι τεύχει
]ῶ ζώειν ἄξιον α[
] εν πάντες σε· τὸ γα[
] δε πρήσσειν εὐμα[
Callimachus, fr. 4 Massimilla (= 2 Pf.)

When the swarming Muses met the shepherd Hesiod as he herded his flocks by the print of the swift horse . . . origins of Chaos . . . at the water (?) of the hoof . . . that one who fashions evil for another fashions it for his own liver . . . worthy of living (?) . . . everyone you . . . doing

Unfortunately, nothing in this broken scrap allows us to go beyond speculation,[16] and if Callimachus did not in fact allude to the *Catalogue*, we would not be justified in concluding that he did not know it as a separate poem. So, too, Francis Cairns suggested that the forward reference (in typical hymnic style) to another work (almost certainly the *Iambi*) in the

[14] Cf. West 1966: 48–50. The *argumentum* to the *Aspis* preserves the information that Apollonius defended its Hesiodic authorship, *inter alia*, by an appeal both to its *kharaktêr* and to 'the *Catalogue*' (fr. 230), and it is likely enough (if not quite certain) that this reflects Apollonius' own wording.

[15] We cannot, of course, rule out the possibility that some such phrase also occurred earlier in the proem.

[16] Cf. Massimilla's note on v. 6.

last verse of the 'epilogue' of the *Aitia*, αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ Μουσέων πεζὸν ἔπειμι νομόν, 'but I shall advance to the prosaic pasture of the Muses' (fr. 112.9 Pf.) alluded to the fact that the *Theogony*, the work against which Callimachus framed the *Aitia*, had a continuation in the *Catalogue*.[17] The two cases are very different, but it would at least be in Callimachus' manner to allude to both editorial and rhapsodic practice at this crucial moment.

The investigation of allusion to the *Catalogue* in later, particularly hexameter, poetry must of course constantly take account both of the fragmentary and/or scholiastic nature of much of our evidence for the *Catalogue* and of the traditional, often 'formular' nature of its language. To take the nature of the evidence first. Many fragments of the *Catalogue* are citations in mythographers or scholiasts for a particular genealogy or version of a story which is also found in Hellenistic poetry: when are the Hesiodic and Hellenistic citations to be linked? Thus, for example, we know from the scholia on Pindar's *Third Pythian* that Hesiod (somewhere) told how a raven informed Apollo that Koronis, who was bearing his child, was marrying Ischys, son of Eilatos (fr. 60). This is the earliest attestation for the role of the raven (cf. also Pherecydes, *FGrHist* 3 F3 = fr. 3 Fowler) which Pindar, whose principal source seems to have been the *Catalogue* itself,[18] omits; the scholiast reports the story (ἱστορεῖται γάρ . . .) that, for its pains in bringing bad news, the god changed the bird from white to black, but the cited verses of Hesiod make no reference to this metamorphosis. Both the bad news and the colour-change occur, however, in a famous passage of Callimachus' *Hecale*, in which a crow appears to warn another bird against bearing bad news (probably the news of Hecale's death) by forecasting the fate of the raven (fr. 74.14–20). Should we connect Hesiod and Callimachus here?[19] In Callimachus, the strongest argument may, as often, be linguistic. The similarity of shape between Callimachus fr. 74.19 Hollis, ὁππότε κεν Φλεγύαο Κορωνίδος ἀμφὶ θυγατρός, and Hesiod fr. 60.4 Εἰλατίδης, Φλεγύαο διογνήτοιο θύγατρα, a similarity which calls attention to Callimachus' 'smoother' metrics (an entirely dactylic verse, avoiding the Hesiodic fourth-foot spondee), suggests that we ought indeed to connect the two passages: the aged Callimachean bird is thus seen to be familiar with the poetry of the past. Unfortunately, we know no more

[17] Cairns 1979: 222–3; cf. also Koenen 1993: 91–2. Cairns' suggestion is rejected by Cameron 1995: 156 on inadequate grounds. Whether or not the 'epilogue' is correctly placed at the end of Book 4 of the *Aitia* (cf. Cameron 1995: 141–62) does not affect this discussion.

[18] Cf. Wilamowitz 1886: 58–62, D'Alessio (this volume) pp. 234–5.

[19] Reinsch–Werner 1976: 365–6 is quite certain that Callimachus wants us to think of Hesiod, though her arguments do not seem to me very strong.

about Hesiod's telling of the story, and its place in his poetry has been much debated; West doubts whether fr. 60 actually comes from the *Catalogue*.[20]

It is indeed likely that it was in the *Argonautica* where the richest Hellenistic echoes of the *Catalogue* were to be found.[21] A clear case would seem to be the story of Cyrene and her son Aristaeus, which Apollonius tells in the second book of the *Argonautica*, in connection with the etesian winds which delay the crew's progress. The scholia to Pindar's famous telling of the story of Cyrene in *Pythian* 9 claim that Hesiod's *ehoie* of Cyrene was Pindar's source, and they quote the opening of the Hesiodic version:

ἠ̣ οἵη Φθίηι Χαρίτων ἄπο κάλλος ἔχουσα
Πηνειοῦ παρ' ὕδωρ καλὴ ναίεσκε Κυρήνη
Hesiod fr. 215

Or such as beautiful Kyrene, her beauty that of the Graces, who dwelt in Phthia beside the waters of the Peneios

One other fragment and a report in Servius (frr. 216–17) suggest that Hesiod's telling at least included also Aristaeus' role as shepherd (cf. Pindar, *Pyth*. 9.64–5, Ap. Rhod. *Arg*. 2.507, 513).[22] Apollonius' introduction of Aristaeus seems to borrow directly from Pindar (and from Hesiod lying behind Pindar?):

ἔνθα δ' Ἀρισταῖον Φοίβωι τέκεν, ὃν καλέουσιν
Ἀγρέα καὶ Νόμιον πολυλήιοι Αἰμονιῆες
Ap. Rhod. *Arg*. 2.506–7

There [Kyrene] bore to Phoebus Aristaeus, whom the Haimonians rich in grain call Agreus and Nomios.

θήσονταί τέ νιν ἀθάνατον,
Ζῆνα καὶ ἁγνὸν Ἀπόλλων', ἀνδράσι χάρμα φίλοις
ἄγχιστον ὀπάονα μήλων,
Ἀγρέα καὶ Νόμιον, τοῖς δ' Ἀρισταῖον καλεῖν.
Pindar, *Pyth*. 9.63–5

[The Hours and Earth] will make him immortal, as Zeus and holy Apollo, a source of delight for dear mortals, closest companion of the flocks, to be called Agreus and Nomios, but by others Aristaeus.

[20] West 1985a: 69–72. Apollonius' brief allusion to the story (*Arg*. 4.616–17) may go back to the *Catalogue* (cf. Schwartz 1960: 591). The Coronis-*ehoie* is a central topic of Dräger 1997.

[21] For fragments of the *Catalogue* and the *Megalai Ehoiai* on Argonautic subjects, cf. D'Alessio (this volume) pp. 195–9.

[22] For the Cyrene-*ehoie* cf. West 1985a: 85–9, citing earlier bibliography, D'Alessio (this volume) pp. 206–7; it is at least of interest that the extensive Apollonian scholia on this episode do not mention Hesiod. For a helpful account of the correspondences and differences in the various versions, cf. Vian's *Note complémentaire* to Ap. Rhod. *Arg*. 2.510.

The introduction of Cyrene, however, seems to look directly to Hesiod:

> Κυρήνη πέφαταί τις ἔλος παρὰ Πηνειοῖο
> μῆλα νέμειν προτέροισι παρ' ἀνδράσιν·
> Ap. Rhod. *Arg.* 2.500–1

The story is told that Kyrene herded her flocks among men of earlier days beside the marsh of the Peneios;

The apparent reworking of Hesiod fr. 215.2 in v. 500, together with the double 'source-note' ('the story is told', 'among men of earlier days'),[23] would seem to clinch the matter. In the *Argonautica*, the tale of Aristaeus is part of an elaborate strategy of narrative delay (note the narrative of Paraibios at 2.467–89) to match the delay which the Argonauts experience on their travels. The Hesiodic *Catalogue* does not have (or at least not in the same sense) a central narrative like the *Argonautica*, and it may be that Apollonius here not merely alludes to one particular Hesiodic *ehoie*, but, as part of his (post-Aristotelian) experimentation with epic narrative form, evokes the whole world of 'catalogue poetry' as a form of potentially limitless 'delays' and 'expansions' which moves to a different rhythm than that of teleological epic.

There is another, somewhat related, case during the same stop with Phineus. The sons of Boreas chase the Harpies away from Phineus so that they will allow the old man to eat in peace. We know that in the *Catalogue* (frr. 150–7) the story of how the Boreads pursued the Harpies as they carried Phineus around the world was told at some length,[24] although its context is unknown and there is no evidence that it was there connected with the Argonautic story;[25] between Hesiod and Apollonius intervene so many (lost) texts that there is perhaps little profit in seeking to establish detailed correspondences.[26] Nevertheless, Apollonius' narrative organisation is here of some interest. In the Hellenistic epic, the pursuit lacks geographical specificity: the Harpies fly off 'far away across the sea' (2.271–2), pursued by the Boreads, who would have caught them 'far away at the Floating Islands' (2.285) but for the intervention of Iris. The Harpies then enter a cave on

[23] Cf. Drexler 1931: 457. At *Arg.* 4.1381–2 another 'source-note', 'this is the Muses' tale, I sing as the follower of the Pierian maidens', introduces the tale of the Argonauts carrying their ship across the Libyan desert; this seems to be attested for Hesiod (fr. 241), but is for others as well (e.g. Antimachus fr. 76 Matthews = 65 Wyss).

[24] Cf. West 1985a: 84–5; D'Alessio (this volume) p. 195.

[25] For the details, cf. pp. 142ff. of the first volume of Vian's Budé Apollonius and Cuypers 1997: 202–9.

[26] Thus, for example, a scholium to *Arg.* 2.296 explicitly cites Antimachus (fr. 71 Matthews = 60 Wyss) as the source for Apollonius' explanation of the 'Turning Islands', whereas Hesiod's version was slightly different (fr. 156).

Crete, and the Boreads return to Phineus and the crew to tell them 'what a distance' (2.431) they had pursued the creatures. In Hesiod, however, the pursuit is a lengthy and exotic catalogue of places and peoples, some of them outlandish (frr. 150–3). This (from a Hellenistic point of view) somewhat chaotic *periodos* is replaced in the *Argonautica* by the ordered and apparently drily sequential *paraplous* in which Phineus explains to the crew the route along the southern Black Sea coast; that this *paraplous* separates the Boreads' departure from their return marks its structural equivalence to Hesiod's wild chase, while the fact that it is spoken by Phineus, who in Hesiod was being carried helplessly around the world, demarcates its difference.[27] Apollonius thus here marks out a poetic space quite different from archaic epic through the parade of geographic and ethnographic material appropriate to, and in form appropriate to, a new 'scientific' world.[28]

To turn now more directly to the question of language. Where the *Catalogue* is the only earlier attestation of a phrase or collocation, we must be wary of leaping to conclusions, particularly in view of the loss of so much archaic epic; where the language of the *Catalogue* itself has archaic parallels, we must proceed even more cautiously, without (on the other hand) yielding to interpretative inertia.[29] In the first book of the *Argonautica*, for example, the Argonauts enjoy themselves with the women of Lemnos, and the whole city celebrates:

> ἔνθ' ὁ μὲν Ὑψιπύλης βασιλήιον ἐς δόμον ὦρτο
> Αἰσονίδης· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι, ὅπηι καὶ ἔκυρσαν ἕκαστος,
> Ἡρακλῆος ἄνευθεν· ὁ γὰρ παρὰ νηὶ λέλειπτο
> αὐτὸς ἑκὼν παῦροί τε διακρινθέντες ἑταῖροι.
> αὐτίκα δ' ἄστυ χοροῖσι καὶ εἰλαπίνηισι γεγήθει
> καπνῶι κνισήεντι περίπλεον· ἔξοχα δ' ἄλλων
> ἀθανάτων Ἥρης υἷα κλυτὸν ἠδὲ καὶ αὐτὴν
> Κύπριν ἀοιδῆισιν θυέεσσί τε μειλίσσοντο.
>
> Ap. Rhod. *Arg.* 1.853–60

The son of Aison set off for the palace of Hypsipyle, and all the others went where chance led them, with the exception of Heracles. From his own choice he remained by the ship, together with a few comrades who stayed away from the merry-making. Soon the city was full of joyful dancing and the rich smoke of feasting; in their hymns and sacrifices they paid honour above all other immortals to the glorious son of Hera and to Kypris herself.

[27] Cf. Hunter 1993a: 94–5.

[28] For a helpful introduction to geography in the *Argonautica*, cf. Meyer 2001, citing earlier literature.

[29] Many of the allusions to the *Catalogue* in Callimachus' poetry which are alleged by Reinsch–Werner 1976 seem to me to lead to no interpretative gain and therefore to be at best doubtful. Magnelli 2002: 38 plausibly identifies an origin for Euphorion, *SH* 415 col. 1.8 in Hesiod fr. 17a.12.

In a passage which apparently appeared at least twice in the *Catalogue* (fr. 25.30–3, fr. 229.10–13), Hesiod tells of how Hera's hatred for Heracles has turned to affection for the now divine hero, who has married her own daughter Hebe:

> τὸν πρὶν μέν ῥ' ἤχθηρε θεὰ λευκώλενος Ἥρη
> ἔκ τε θεῶν μακάρων ἔκ τε θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων,
> νῦν δ' ἤδη πεφίληκε, τίει δέ μιν ἔξοχον ἄλλων
> ἀθανάτων μετά γ' αὐτὸν ἐρισθενέα Κρονίωνα.
> Hesiod fr. 25.30–3

Previously, the goddess white-armed Hera hated [Heracles] of all the blessed gods and mortal men; but now she loves him, and honours him above all other immortals, except the mighty son of Cronus himself.

ἔξοχον ἄλλων | ἀθανάτων 'above all other immortals' is language which can be readily paralleled elsewhere in epic, but both Hera and Heracles are involved in the passages of the *Catalogue* and the *Argonautica*; in Apollonius, however, the Lemnians are celebrating Hephaestus, not Heracles, and the full force of the labours and of Hera's opposition still awaits Heracles. The Hesiodic echo, if such it is, would remind us, as we are reminded elsewhere (cf. 1.1319, 4.1477–82), of Heracles' glorious future.

It is, of course, often the opening passages of works to which reference is made; we have already noted a possible allusion in an epigram to Hesiod fr. 1.16 and seen Aratus perhaps alluding to the opening verse of the *Catalogue*, as well as taking over the proemial explanation of how gods and men used to live and dine together (fr. 1.6–7, above p. 241). Fr. 1.6 (cited above) seems indeed particularly resonant in the poetry of the third century. James Clauss observed that this anaphoric use of ξυνός is found three times in Hellenistic poetry (Theocritus 7.35–6, Ap. Rhod. *Arg.* 1.336–7, 3.173) but nowhere else in the poetic corpus.[30] The Theocritean example is particularly interesting. Simichidas, the naively overconfident narrator, urges the mysterious goatherd Lycidas to join him in singing:

> ἀλλ' ἄγε δή, ξυνὰ γὰρ ὁδὸς ξυνὰ δὲ καὶ ἀώς,
> βουκολιασδώμεσθα· τάχ' ὥτερος ἄλλον ὀνασεῖ.
> Theocritus 7.35–6

But come – common is our journey and common the bright day – let us join in bucolic song; perhaps each of us will derive some benefit.

Simichidas is, like the Hesiod of the *Theogony*, to be presented with a staff by the (? divine) Lycidas, and an allusion to fr. 1.6–7 of the *Catalogue*

[30] Clauss 1990. Oppian, *Cyn.* 4.42–4 shows a related, but not identical, usage.

would here serve a double purpose. On one hand, it would further the characterisation of Simichidas as the modern 'professional poet', ever ready with an allusion to earlier poetry to establish his credentials as a 'pure mouth of the Muses' (v. 37).[31] On the other, the original Hesiodic context helps to confirm our growing suspicion that Lycidas is not all he seems to be (at least to Simichidas): this really is to be a 'common' meeting of men and gods. The two examples in the *Argonautica* seem, however, less pointed. Clauss suggests that Hesiodic allusion in Jason's speech to his crew before setting out (1.336–7) reminds them (and us) of their common heroic parentage, and of course many Argonauts, being 'sons and grandsons of immortals' (*Arg.* 3.366), had indeed appeared in the *Catalogue*;[32] on arriving in Colchis, the poet then has Jason echo the Hesiodic allusion of that earlier speech to remind the crew 'of the need for unified action'.[33] However that may be, the broad sweep of the *Catalogue*, which moves from the free mixing of gods and mortals to the end of the age of the heroes, might well have influenced Apollonius' presentation of the voyage of the Argonauts back into the recesses of the primeval past before their return to Greece and Greek cultural values.[34]

If it is profitable to seek allusions to the proem of the *Catalogue*, it is a natural complement to this search to look for borrowings from the *Catalogue* in Hellenistic poetic catalogues.[35] Apollonius' 'Catalogue of Argonauts' indeed yields some apparently positive results (cf. below), and it is probably not rash to guess that a reference to 'a tale which poets tell' in that catalogue (v. 59 about Caeneus) has the *Catalogue* in its sights.[36] Nevertheless, the very nature of 'genealogical catalogue poetry', which imposes series of largely non-variable names, and the variety of sources (both oral and written) which preserved such information, enjoin caution about the interpretation of apparent intertextual allusion. Thus, for example, at *Arg.* 3.360–1, Argos explains to Aietes that Jason is related to them through his grandfather Cretheus:

> ἄμφω γὰρ Κρηθεὺς Ἀθάμας τ' ἔσαν Αἰόλου υἷες,
> Φρίξος δ' αὖτ' Ἀθάμαντος ἔην πάις Αἰολίδαο.
>
> Ap. Rhod. *Arg.* 3.360–1

[31] For this characterisation of Simichidas, cf. Hunter 2003a.

[32] Cf. Schwartz 1960: 592.

[33] Clauss also floats the idea that Callimachus, *Hecale* fr. 80.4–5 Hollis, φιλοξείνοιο καλιῆς | μνήσομεθα· ξυνὸν γὰρ ἐπαύλιον ἔσκεν ἅπασιν, 'we shall remember your hospitable hut; it was a lodging shared by all' (perhaps in the mouth of Hecale's neighbours), continued with a ξυνὸν δέ . . .

[34] Cf. Hunter 1991; Clauss 2000.

[35] On elegiac catalogue poetry, cf. below, pp. 259–65; Asquith (this volume).

[36] For Caeneus in the *Catalogue*, cf. frr. 87–8.

Both Cretheus and Athamas were the sons of Aeolus, and Phrixos was the child of Athamas son of Aeolus.

Argos is drawing on some very recently acquired knowledge (cf. 2.1160–4), but behind his words we may be tempted to hear the Hesiodic version:[37]

> Αἰολίδαι δ' ἐγένοντο θεμιστοπόλοι βασιλῆες
> Κρηθεύς τ' ἠδ' Ἀθάμας καὶ Σίσυφος αἰολομήτης
> Σαλμωνεύς τ' ἄδικος καὶ ὑπέρθυμος Περιήρης
> Hesiod fr.10a.25–7

The sons of Aeolus were sceptre-bearing kings, Cretheus and Athamas and wily Sisyphus and wicked Salmoneus and overbearing Perieres.

Argos restricts his genealogical information to what is strictly relevant, but, if we yield to the intertextual temptation, his omission of 'wily Sisyphus and wicked Salmoneus and overbearing Perieres' increases our understanding of why he succeeds only in making Aietes angrier and more suspicious of the new arrivals at his court.[38] Let us turn to the 'Catalogue of Argonauts' itself: when, for example, Apollonius introduces the Argonauts from Oechalia:

> τῶι δ' ἄρ' ἐπὶ Κλυτίος τε καὶ Ἴφιτος ἠγερέθοντο,
> Οἰχαλίης ἐπίουροι, ἀπηνέος Εὐρύτου υἷες,
> Εὐρύτου ὧι πόρε τόξον Ἑκηβόλος· οὐδ' ἀπόνητο
> δωτίνης, αὐτῶι γὰρ ἑκὼν ἐρίδηνε δοτῆρι.
> Ap. Rhod. *Arg.* 1.86–9

Next gathered Klytios and Iphitos, the guardians of Oechalia, sons of cruel Eurytus, whose bow was given to him by the Far-Darter; but he gained no profit from the gift, for he tried to rival the giver himself.

Ought we to see an evocative allusion to their appearance in the *Catalogue*?

> τῶι δ' ὑποκυσαμένη καλλίζωνος Στρατονίκη
> Εὔρυτον ἐν μεγάροισιν ἐγείνατο φίλτατον υἱόν.
> τοῦ δ' υἱεῖς ἐγένοντο Δηίων τε Κλυτίος τε
> Τοξεύς τ' ἀντίθεος ἠδ' Ἴφιτος ὄζος Ἄρηος.
> Hesiod fr. 26.27–30

To Melaneus the fair-girdled Stratonice bore in the halls a very dear son, Eurytus. His sons were Deion and Klytios and godlike Toxeus and Iphitos, a shoot of Ares.

Hesiod certainly passes over the foolish Eurytus' fate, a story which Apollonius will have known from (*inter alia*) *Odyssey* 8.224–8. Similar questions arise over, say, the children of Pero (fr. 37.8–9, *Arg.* 1.118–21).

[37] Cf. also Euripides fr. 14 Nauck.
[38] Cf. Campbell 1983: 29–31, and the notes of Campbell and myself on *Arg.* 3.317–66.

Elsewhere, however, we may feel rather more confident. When Apollonius notes that, had Meleager been only a little older when he joined the expedition, no Argonaut 'except Heracles' (νόσφιν γ' Ἡρακλῆος) would have surpassed him (1.190–8), it is certainly tempting to see an echo of Meleager's introduction in the *Catalogue*, where he is already second only to Heracles (fr. 25.1–13, with πλήν γ' Ἡρακλῆος again at the head of a hexameter). Verbal echo may also signal a debt to the *Catalogue* when Apollonius brings on the Euboean Canthus:

> αὐτὰρ ἀπ' Εὐβοίης Κάνθος κίε, τόν ῥα Κάνηθος
> πέμπεν Ἀβαντιάδης λελιημένον.
> Ap. Rhod. *Arg.* 1.77–8

Moreover from Euboia came Canthus; Kanethos son of Abas had acceded to his desires in sending him forth.

A 'descendant of Abas', i.e. an early inhabitant of Euboea, had also featured within the Catalogue of Suitors in the final book of the *Catalogue:*

> αὐτὰρ ἀπ' Εὐβοίης Ἐλεφήνωρ ὄρχαμος ἀνδρῶν
> Χαλκωδοντιάδης, μεγαθύμων ἀρχὸς Ἀβάντων,
> μνᾶτο Hesiod fr. 204.52–4

Moreover from Euboia came as a suitor Elephenor, leader of men, son of Chalkodon, commander of the great-hearted Abantes.

Verse 53 of the Hesiodic passage also appeared in the Homeric Catalogue of Ships (*Iliad* 2.541, cf. 4.464), and Apollonius allows this rich 'catalogue tradition' to resonate within his own catalogue. The case of shape-changing Periclymenus, however, shows that the relation between the two 'Catalogues' is not everywhere the same. Hesiod gives a detailed account of this hero's various manifestations as, for example, eagle, ant, bee or snake (fr. 33a.12–18), as a preface to his fateful encounter at Pylos with Athena and Heracles (fr.33a.19–36), whereas Apollonius, perhaps wishing not to give undue prominence to an Argonaut never to be mentioned again, remains entirely at the level of the general:

> Ποσειδάων δέ οἱ ἀλκὴν
> δῶκεν ἀπειρεσίην ἠδ', ὅττι κεν ἀρήσαιτο
> μαρνάμενος, τὸ πέλεσθαι ἐνὶ ξυνοχῇι πολέμοιο.
> Ap. Rhod. *Arg.* 1.158–60

Poseidon had given [Periclymenus] boundless strength, and the ability in battle to become whatever he prayed to be when in the tight corners of war.

Apollonius, however, directs us to Hesiod's more detailed description by μαρνάμενος at the head of v. 160, picking up the beginning of Hes. fr. 33a.20.[39] An even more radical case of suppression of the tradition is Iphiclus, whose supernatural speed over fields of grain (Hesiod fr. 62, *Iliad* 23.636) is not even mentioned by Apollonius (1.45–8); Callimachus, however, apparently alludes to the Hesiodic picture of Iphiclus at fr. 75.46, σφυρὸν Ἰφίκλειον ἐπιτρέχον ἀσταχύεσσιν 'the ankle of Iphiclus which ran over the crops'.

NARRATIVE STRUCTURES

Hellenistic poets were clearly attracted by the 'learning' of the *Theogony*, by the engaged personal voice and didactic morality of the *Works and Days*, and by the autobiography written into both poems. As far as we can see, the nature of the *Catalogue* was rather different. When every allowance has been made for the state of the evidence and for the fact that the texture of the poem appears, from what has survived, to have been uneven (cf. below), the poetics of the *Catalogue* emerge as perhaps more 'impersonal' and the poetic voice as less obviously intrusive than in the other two poems; such things, of course, mattered very much to Hellenistic poets.[40]

Ian Rutherford has called attention to the relative paucity of direct speech in the *Catalogue* fragments (and to the fact that there is as yet no example of speech by a mortal woman) and proposed that catalogue-poetry distinguishes itself by 'a rapidity of presentation, and a focus on narration rather than speech'.[41] If this is broadly true, then in one way the *Catalogue* anticipated the greatly reduced role of direct speech in the only Hellenistic epic which survives, the *Argonautica*;[42] the avoidance of female speech, however, is entirely different from the way in which Hellenistic poets delighted to give their female characters a voice. Among the preserved fragments, the primary instances of direct speech are:[43] fr. 31, a prophecy by Poseidon to Tyro of the children she will bear him (cf. *Odyssey* 11.247–53);[44] fr. 41, a contextless half-verse which may or may not be from the *Catalogue*, ἐγὼ

[39] For the subsequent tradition of this Hesiodic passage cf. Ovid, *Met.* 12.556–72. Unfortunately, we know virtually nothing of Periclymenus' appearance in Euphorion (fr. 64 Powell).

[40] Cf. Hunter 1993a: Chapter 5, with further bibliography.

[41] Rutherford 2000: 87–9. On direct speech in the *Megalai Ehoiai*, cf. D'Alessio (this volume) pp. 188–9.

[42] Cf. Hunter 1993: 138–51.

[43] Cf. Rutherford 2000: 87.

[44] It is noteworthy that Poseidon's parallel prophecy is the only instance of direct speech in the Odyssean 'Catalogue of Women', despite the conversational frame (cf. vv. 231–4) and the use of indirect speech (vv. 236, 261, 306).

δ' ἐξ ἀγρόθεν ἥκω 'I have come from the countryside';[45] fr. 43.41–3, the quotation of the 'law' which is to settle the dispute between Erysichthon and Sisyphus over Mestra;[46] fr. 75.11–25, Schoeneus announces the contest for Atalanta's hand, and fr. 76.9–10, Hippomenes addresses Atalanta;[47] fr. 136 may contain a prophecy or oracle quoted in direct speech; fr. 165.2, the final scrap of a divine speech to Teuthras is preserved; fr. 211.7–13, a *makarismos* of Peleus by all the people. This is indeed a surprisingly small haul. Nevertheless, other factors suggest that the *Catalogue* might indeed have offered a poetic model attractive to Hellenistic imitators.

The *Catalogue*-poet makes no effort to conceal his views of the characters he describes: the epithets he attaches to the 'good' and the 'bad' leave it very clear who belongs in which category. So too, there are a few surviving instances of rather fuller judgements: fr. 10a.97–8, 'hidden is the (?mind) of Zeus, (?and no mortal) can divine it', seems to round off the metamorphosis-story of Ceyx and Alkyone in suitably Hesiodic fashion (cf. e.g. *Theog*. 613, at the conclusion of the story of Prometheus); fr. 33a.27–9 (Periclymenus, a shape-changer of a different kind), 'he thought he would stop the strength of horse-taming Heracles: foolish man (νήπιος), he did not fear Zeus's brave-hearted son and his glorious bow which Phoebus Apollo gave to him.'; fr. 43a.52–4, '(Sisyphus was the cleverest of mortals), but he did not know the mind of aegis-bearing Zeus, that the dwellers in heaven would not grant Glaucus children from Mestra and that his seed should be preserved among men'; fr. 61, νήπιος, ὃς τὰ ἑτοῖμα λιπὼν ἀνέτοιμα διώκει 'foolish the man who abandons what is readily available and pursues the unattainable', perhaps to be connected with Coronis (it is cited by (*inter alios*) the scholiast on Pindar, *Pyth*. 3.38), but whether in the mouth of the poet or one of his characters is entirely unclear. In these instances, the poetic voice is indeed not too far removed from the earnest pieties of a Pindar, or even the apparently pious earnestness of a Callimachus.

The *Catalogue* opens up a whole network of heroic poetry which sometimes can seem like a giant system of cross-referencing to archaic epic – the accounts of Iphimede and Orestes at fr. 23a.17–30 and of Bellerophon (fr. 43a.81–7) are very obvious examples – or a 'source-book' of narratives waiting to be written. A later poet could, as it were, write in the narratives which the *Catalogue*'s genealogical focus had suppressed. Not, of course,

[45] West's suggestion that the speaker is Jason (cf. Pind. *Pyth*. 4.102) is perhaps given colour by Ap. Rhod. *Arg*. 1.5–11 (where Platt's interpretation of δημόθεν as 'from the countryside' deserves serious consideration, cf. *J.Phil*. 35 (1920) 72).

[46] Cf. Osborne (this volume) pp. 19–20, Rutherford (this volume) p. 107.

[47] On this episode cf. below p. 253.

that all narratives in the *Catalogue* are suppressed; it is clear that the narrative texture of the poem was uneven and that the manner in which longer stories were elaborated also varied considerably. We can get some sense of the larger architectural patterns of the work from sequences such as frr. 30–5 (Salmoneus, Tyro and her children), fr. 43 (Mestra),[48] frr. 72–6 (Atalanta), and, of course, the 'suitors of Helen', with its extraordinary (and utterly unpredictable) aftermath.[49] The 'romantic' Atalanta story, which could be seen as literalising the language of erotic 'pursuit' and 'flight' so familiar from Sappho and later literature, and which features (*inter alia*) a 'naughty' breeze (fr. 75.9–10), a cunning lover (fr. 76), and a beautiful girl who shuns 'Aphrodite's gifts', only to be caught by them (fr. 76.6, 10), seems indeed almost already formed as a short, independent poem of considerable narrative sophistication. We may be particularly reminded of the story of Acontius and Cydippe from Callimachus' *Aitia*, another tale of how the deities of love helped a man to gain the woman he loved by tricking her with an apple.[50] Very different in construction and mode (the poet passes up, for example, the chance to put a deceptive speech to Alcmene in Zeus's mouth), if no less interested in narrative ironies and no less suggestive for Hellenistic narrative, is the Alcmene-*ehoie* from Book 4 (fr. 195, *Aspis* 1–56), a story in which the necessary avoidance of sexual contact (vv. 15–19) becomes a transgressive excess, and in which Amphitryon 'accomplishes' a 'great (military) feat' (vv. 22, 38) while Zeus 'accomplishes' his desires with Amphitryon's wife (v. 36).[51]

A general influence of the *Catalogue*, with its very varied elaboration and predominantly light or even amused tone,[52] upon the shape of later poetic structures must indeed be considered very likely. In a few cases, where the

[48] Cf. Rutherford (this volume). [49] Cf. Cingano, Clay (this volume).

[50] That Callimachus' verses did indeed allude to the Atalanta-*ehoie* cannot be demonstrated, but seems to me very likely, both on general grounds and in view of some specific indications (of uneven weight). 1) Hippomenes' apples seem to have been a gift of Aphrodite, and Aristaenetus at least (1.10.25 Mazal) reports that Acontius took his apple from 'the garden of Aphrodite'. For the sources, cf. Hunter on Theocritus 3.40–2. 2) According to Aristaenetus, the love-struck Acontius resolved on 'marriage or death' (1.10.21 Mazal), a dichotomy which is very real in the case of Hippomenes (fr. 76.7–8). 3) In Aristaenetus, Cydippe's servant 'snatches up' (ἀνήρπασεν, 1.10.28 Mazal) the apple, as does Atalanta (fr. 76.18–19, with an apparent etymological play on Ἅρπυια).

[51] If the opening of Theocritus 24 alludes to the Alcmene-*ehoie* (cf. Fantuzzi in Fantuzzi–Hunter 2004: 258 [= 2002: 347–8], this is presumably an allusion to the *Aspis* rather than to the fourth book of the *Catalogue*. It is tempting to think that the description of Alcmene at *Aspis* 4–10 – beautiful, clever, and 'she honoured her husband as no other mortal woman has done' – is not merely preparation for her unwitting infidelity, but a specific glance at the description of Arete at *Odyssey* 7.67–8 '[Alcinoos] honoured her as no other woman on earth is honoured'. Such a reversal would not be out of place in a much later poem.

[52] Cf. Rutherford 2000: 86.

Catalogue shares subject-matter with a later poem, we may also be able to trace the outlines of a specific debt; one such case is that of Moschus' *Europa*. Europa's only appearance in Homer is in the catalogue of Zeus's 'conquests' (*Iliad* 14.321–2), but a Homeric scholiast tells the story: 'Zeus saw Europa the daughter of Phoinix when she was gathering flowers in a meadow together with Nymphs and fell in love with her. He came down and changed himself into a bull and the breath from his mouth was saffron. In this way, he deceived Europa, carried her off, transported her to Crete, and had intercourse with her. Then he married her to Asterion the king of Crete. Being pregnant, she bore three sons, Minos, Rhadamanthys, and Sarpedon. The tale is told by Hesiod (fr. 140) and Bacchylides (fr. 10 S–M).'[53] A broken papyrus fragment (fr. 141) offers us the end of the Hesiodic narrative:

]πέρησε δ' ἄρ' ἁλμυρὸν ὕδωρ
]Διὸς δμηθεῖσα δόλοισι.
]πατὴρ καὶ δῶρον ἔδωκεν
Ἥ]φαιστος κλυτοτέχνης
ἰδυί]ηισιν πραπίδεσσι
πα]τρὶ φέρων· ὃ δὲ δέξατο δῶρον·
κού]ρηι Φοίνικος ἀγαυοῦ.
ἔμ]ελλε τανισφύρωι Εὐρωπείηι,
]πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε
νύ]μφης πάρα καλλικόμοιο.
ἣ δ' ἄρα παῖδ]ας [ἔτικτ]εν ὑπερμενέι Κρονίωνι
πο]λέων ἡγήτορας ἀνδρῶν,
Μίνω τε κρείοντα] δίκαιόν τε Ῥαδάμανθυν
καὶ Σαπρηδόνα δῖον] ἀμύμονά τε κρατερ[όν τε.
Hesiod fr. 141.1–14

. . . crossed the briny sea . . . overcome by the tricks of Zeus . . . father [i.e. Zeus] (slept with her?) and gave her a gift . . . it was made by Hephaestus the glorious craftsmen . . . skilled heart . . . bearing it to her father; he received the gift . . . to the daughter of noble Phoenix. . . . intended for the slender-ankled Europa . . . the father of men and gods . . . from his fair-tressed bride. She bore sons to the mighty son of Cronus . . . leaders of many men . . . Minos the ruler and just Rhadamanthys and Sarpedon, godlike, excellent and strong.

The fragment (and cf. frr. 144–5) continues with the futures and families of Europa's sons. There is nothing in the scholiast's summary which would surprise in Hesiod (or Bacchylides), though we simply cannot say whether Europa's subsequent marriage to Asterion figured in the *Catalogue*

[53] Europa's abduction by Zeus also figured (though at what length we do not know) in the *Europia* of Eumelos of Corinth, cf. West 2002: 126–7.

(though it fits a very familiar narrative pattern). Comparison of this evidence with Moschus' poem shows broadly the same narrative in both poets, but also significant differences, particularly where Moschus has enriched the narrative from other parts of the poetic tradition (Europa's dream, the ekphrasis of the basket etc.).[54] We do not, of course, know how extensive Hesiod's narrative was, but it is a more than reasonable assumption that there was nothing in the archaic poem to match the active speaking role which Europa enjoys in Moschus;[55] whether it is her response to her dream or her marvellous puzzlement as she is transported across the sea, Moschus' heroine has much to say. Here then, it seems that the Hellenistic poet has indeed written in the details of a suppressed narrative, as also with the elaborate description of the pageant at sea (*Europa* 113–29); the opening verse of fr. 141 '. . . she crossed the salt sea' may in fact have been the sum total of attention which Hesiod gave to the matter. As for Zeus himself, his antecoital prophecy (*Europa* 154–61, the virgin Europa certainly knew what was coming!), which bears a strong generic resemblance to the post-coital words of Poseidon to Tyro (Hesiod fr. 31.1–4, *Odyssey* 11.247–53),[56] may perhaps have found some analogy in Hesiod before the preserved fragment opens, but this seems in fact rather unlikely; the final verses of Zeus's speech, 'you will bear me glorious sons, who will all be sceptre-bearing (kings) among men' (*Europa* 160–1), looks like a reworking of vv. 11–14 of the preserved Hesiodic fragment (cited above), in which it is the narrator who tells of the children. Though, moreover, Hesiod may indeed have given the divine bull an arousing saffron breath (cf. vv. 68, 91–2 of Moschus' poem), it is hard to believe that there was any equivalent of the erotic 'foreplay' in which Europa and the bull indulge (*Europa* 93–6).[57] As the bald 'Europa' with which the poem begins both gestures towards and entirely avoids the genealogical style of a Hesiodic narrative (we do not learn her father's name until v. 7),[58] so too, as Malcolm Campbell notes, the conclusion of the *Europa*, 'she who was before a maiden became Zeus's bride, bore children to the son of Kronos and became a mother' (vv. 165–6), looks like a marker of this poem's space against that of the *Catalogue*, where the bearing of children is just the beginning of the story.[59]

[54] Cf. esp. Campbell 1991: 1–3, to which I am indebted.

[55] Cf. above, p. 251, on the apparent absence of female speech.

[56] Cf. the notes of Bühler and Campbell *ad loc.* Note too the greatly expanded and varied (a female speaks!) version of this form at *HHAph.* 192ff.

[57] Cf. Hunter in Fantuzzi–Hunter 2004: 219–20 [= 2002: 296–7].

[58] The opening ποτε, again typical of Hellenistic narrative, is entirely foreign to the Hesiodic manner.

[59] The last two verses of the *Europa* are, admittedly, textually uncertain, and here we feel the loss of Bacchylides' version particularly acutely. Were the phrase not such a common one, it might be

In the *Catalogue*, Zeus, in a familiar narrative motif, gives Europa a gold necklace[60] made by Hephaestus, which she then passes to her father (cf. Apollodorus 3.4.1 = Pherecydes, *FGrHist* 3 F89 = fr. 89 Fowler); this was to become a 'family heirloom', with a rich and fateful future over which Hesiod passes in meaningful silence.[61] Moschus chooses to omit this as he brings things to a speedy end, but Europa takes with her to the fateful meadow another family heirloom which Poseidon had given to her grandmother after their love-making (vv. 39–42), and which was also the work of Hephaestus; in sharp contradistinction to the archaic 'model', Moschus describes the wondrous basket in loving detail. The decoration is 'scenes from the life of Io',[62] another heroine from the *Catalogue* (fr. 124) whose story will have been told (in whatever detail) not too far away from that of Europa. Moschus' innovative ekphrastic structure of story within story must be seen, *inter alia*, as a variation upon and avoidance of the sequential catalogue-technique, in which one 'story' only gives way to another when it has been played out to the end.

Despite the very considerable gaps in our knowledge, then, Moschus' *Europa* offers us a rare chance to see a Hellenistic poet overtly engaged with a text from the *Catalogue*. It might have seemed reasonable to entertain similar hopes of the narrative of Erysichthon in Callimachus' *Hymn to Demeter*, as substantial fragments survive of Hesiod's narrative of Erysichthon and his daughter Mestra, apparently here represented as Athenians (fr. 43).[63] Whereas, however, Hesiod (in what survives) says nothing about why Erysichthon is so hungry, Callimachus, on the other hand, has no mention of Mestra.[64] His Erysichthon is younger than Hesiod's and certainly has no children; his disappearance from the poem, begging for scraps at the crossroads (vv. 114–15), leaves his future open (contrast the Ovidian version), despite his desperate physical condition (vv. 92–3). We ought perhaps, then, to associate Callimachus' narrative with the Hellenistic interest in the 'early lives' of characters known from the poetic tradition (e.g. the

tempting to see in the immediately preceding v. 164 λῦσε δέ οἱ μίτρην 'he undid her maiden's girdle' an allusion to Hesiod fr. 1.4, thus acknowledging Moschus' debt to the *Catalogue*, cf. Campbell 1991: 1. For such abrupt conclusions as typical of Hellenistic narrative, cf. Griffiths 1996.

[60] This must be restored on the papyrus, but in view of the testimony to the subsequent history of the necklace, it is hardly in doubt. Nicander apparently somewhere used a version in which Zeus gave Europa a marvellous bronze dog created by Hephaestus (fr. 97 Schneider).

[61] It was with this necklace that Eriphyle was to bring her husband Amphiaraus to his doom at Thebes; for the various versions, cf. Gantz 1993: II 506–8.

[62] On this ekphrasis, see Hunter in Fantuzzi–Hunter 2004: 221–3 [= 2002: 299–301].

[63] Cf. Rutherford (this volume).

[64] Helpful survey in Hopkinson 1984: 18–26. For Ovid's treatment of the story, cf. Hopkinson 1984: 22–4 and Fletcher (this volume) pp. 311–14.

youth of Homer's Cyclops); moreover, just as Callimachus ostentatiously (v. 17) avoids retelling at length the story of the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, so a simple reworking of the *Catalogue* story would have occasioned surprise. There is, however, a possible trace of the 'well-trodden path' not taken: Hesiod certainly used Erysichthon's other name, Αἴθων 'Burning',[65] and explained it as a reference to his hunger (fr. 43b), and on the basis of this and vv. 66–7 of Callimachus' poem (Demeter cast into Erysichthon λιμὸν | αἴθωνα κρατερόν 'burning, powerful hunger') Merkelbach restored vv. 5–7 of fr. 43a:

τὸν δ' Αἴθων' ἐκάλεσσαν ἐπ]ώνυμον εἵνεκα λιμοῦ
αἴθωνος κρατεροῦ φῦλα] θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων
αἴθω]να δὲ λιμὸν ἅπαντες
Hesiod, fr. 43a.5–7

Mortal men [called him Aithon] as a nickname, because of the [burning, powerful] hunger . . . burning hunger all men

Whether or not this reconstruction is correct, it is certain that the *Hymn to Demeter* is a very 'Hesiodic' poem, a narrative about piety, plenty, and lack which is set within and illustrative of the morality of the *Works and Days*, and one which derives much of its effect from the productive clash between a sternly archaising moral voice and a modern poetic style.[66] Callimachus has thus written the missing narrative of Erysichthon which lay apparently suppressed within the *Catalogue*,[67] and in so doing has maintained a 'Hesiodic' voice: this is how, so Callimachus would have us (not) believe, Hesiod would have told the story.

If Callimachus' *Hymn to Demeter* looks only obliquely to a heritage in the *Catalogue*, the closely related *Hymn to Athena* may be rather more engaged with the archaic poem.[68] An Oxyrhynchus papyrus published in 1964 (POxy 2509) contains a scene in which a daughter of Zeus, almost certainly Athena, apparently tells the Centaur Cheiron that in the future Dionysus will use Cheiron's dogs on the mountain and that, when Dionysus ascends to heaven, the dogs will return to Cheiron. The broken last lines of the text appear to refer to Actaeon, and if this is correct, then it seems likely that the promise of future glory for the dogs is offered to Cheiron as consolation for the fact that the dogs have torn apart Cheiron's pupil,

[65] On this name, cf. Levaniouk 2000.
[66] Cf. e.g. Reinsch-Werner 1976: 210–29, 371–3, Hunter 1992: 30–1.
[67] This is, of course, not a matter of whether Callimachus 'invented' the tree-felling, cf. Hopkinson 1984: 26, but of the narrative invitation which the Hesiodic text offers.
[68] For the links (and contrasts) between the two poems, cf. Hopkinson 1984: 13–17.

Actaeon.[69] Lobel tentatively ascribed the text to the *Catalogue*, and strong arguments have been adduced in support of this view, despite Martin West's continued disbelief.[70] Hesiod certainly told in the *Catalogue* (fr. 217A), perhaps in the Cyrene-*ehoie*, how Actaeon was torn apart by his dogs as a punishment for lusting after Semele.[71] Mary Depew has suggested that Athena's unusual consolation to Teiresias' mother for her son's blinding in Callimachus' hymn – 'the day will come when Aktaion's parents would give anything to receive back their son blinded, and besides I will grant Teiresias extraordinary mantic powers' – looks back to the text of *POxy* 2509: Athena, who has absolutely no understanding of maternal feelings, reworks a consolation for the death of Actaeon, which is based on what will happen in the future, to console her best friend for her son's suffering with the very thought of Actaeon's coming fate.[72] Actaeon has suffered for his desire for Semele and thus brought pain to Cheiron, but Semele's glorious son will bestow honour which will be more than adequate recompense for that suffering. In both texts, Athena acts as Zeus's daughter and his closest agent. Moreover, as Depew pointed out, Chariclo, the name of Athena's friend in the Callimachean *Hymn*, is also the name which tradition gave to Cheiron's wife (cf. Pindar, *Pyth*. 4.103 with scholia),[73] and such a putting together of homonymous characters from disparate myths would hardly surprise in Callimachus. The scene of Teiresias' blinding also takes place in the Hesiodic spot *par excellence*, the pool of Hippocrene on Mount Helicon. The case is a strong one, and we may add that the young Teiresias at his entry (vv. 75–6) is not unlike the Dionysus 'on the mountain' of the papyrus text, as well as perhaps suggesting the young Dionysus of the *Bacchae*, as part of the hymn's complex intertextual relation with that tragedy.[74]

There is no sign that Teiresias appeared in the *Catalogue*, though the story of his two genders and his blinding by Hera for giving the 'wrong'

[69] Cf. Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 3.4.4.

[70] Cf. esp. Casanova 1969a, Janko 1984. If the passage is from the *Catalogue*, then it will, of course, have to be added to the examples of direct speech in that poem, cf. above pp. 251–2.

[71] For the various versions, cf. Bulloch on Call. *Hymn to Athena* vv. 107–18, Lacy 1990. The verses on Actaeon's dogs cited by Apollodorus 3.4.4 (= *Epica adespota* fr. 1 Powell) are held by some also to be from the *Catalogue*, but need not be considered here. I would be surprised to learn that v. 7 at least was archaic.

[72] Depew 1994; her whole argument should be consulted.

[73] In the papyrus text, Cheiron's partner is a 'Naiad Nymph'; a misunderstanding of this (if it is from the *Catalogue*) or a similar passage might have given rise to the report in the Pindaric scholia that Hesiod named Cheiron's wife Nais (fr. 42). As Lobel noted, this is an argument for the Hesiodic origin of the papyrus text; Depew's alternative suggestion (p. 414), however, that 'the Scholiast meant his Hesiod clause as a supplementary detail (Chariclo was a Naiad)' is not the natural way to read the note.

[74] Cf. Hunter 1992: 23–4.

answer about sexual pleasure seems to have appeared in the *Melampodia* (frr. 275–6). Just as Moschus' ekphrasis of Europa's basket in the *Europa* offers a way of combining analogous stories (both found in the *Catalogue*) so as to avoid the sequential, catalogue form, so Callimachus juxtaposes the stories of Teiresias (apparently from Pherecydes) and Actaeon (? from the *Catalogue*) in a way which not only avoids the form of a catalogue, but also does not have one story merely illustrative of the other, in the form of a warning example (as, for example, the Actaeon story is used in the *Bacchae*, or the Meleager story in the *Iliad*). Here again, then, it is the stimulus towards narrative experimentation which the *Catalogue* bequeathed to later poets which is seen to be most important. Even if POxy 2509 is not from the *Catalogue*, Callimachus' way of intertwining his stories is in part a product of the stimulus to collection and analysis of the ocean of mythical story which the *Catalogue*, and poems like it, passed on to poets and scholars with the leisure and resources to benefit from that inheritance.[75]

CATALOGUES AND *CATALOGUE*

According to a very commonly expressed view, the greatest debt of Hellenistic poetry to the Hesiodic *Catalogue* lies in a series of very imperfectly known 'catalogue poems' which (in various ways) seem to have gestured towards the Hesiodic form. We know nothing of the (hexameter or elegiac?) 'Catalogue of Women' of Nicaenetus (fr. 2 Powell), but the equally mysterious Ἠοῖοι (note the masculine form) of one Sosicrates or perhaps Sostratos (*SH* 732) suggests what may be involved: the reduction of the rich scope and uneven texture of the *Catalogue* to its most memorable, if not most significant, repetitive feature, which is used as a tool for connecting disparate stories or exempla. Scholarly attention has been focused, particularly by those interested in the antecedents of Roman erotic elegy, upon a series of poems (? Philitas, *Bittis*, Hermesianax, *Leontion*, Phanocles, *Erotes or Beautiful Boys*) in which the catalogued stories were erotic in nature and, to a greater or lesser extent, the poet may have framed or interspersed these stories with supposedly autobiographical material in the first person.[76] Some evidence suggests that these poets looked to Mimnermus' *Nanno* (? second half of the seventh century) and Antimachus' *Lyde* (late fifth to early fourth century BC) for authorising 'classical' models for the

[75] Cf. my remarks above p. 252.

[76] Helpful surveys in Cairns 1979: 214–24, Knox 1993, and cf. Asquith (this volume). About the *Bittis* we know practically nothing; to Knox's discussion add Sbardella 2000: 53–60; Spanoudakis 2002: 29–34.

form; Hermesianax and Antimachus were both from, and Mimnermus at least associated with, Colophon. This elegiac form is then often represented as a kind of cross between the tradition of Colophonian 'personal' elegy and 'Hesiodic' catalogue poetry. The key question in the present context will be just how deep the debt to Hesiod may be.

We may start with a general consideration. As far as we can tell (cf. above), the *Catalogue* was largely 'impersonal' in its poetic voice; there is no sign, in our exiguous remains, of the kind of first-person material found in the *Theogony* and *WD*. If it is the case that these Hellenistic poets saw themselves as recreating the Hesiod of the *Catalogue* in poems containing an important 'personal' element, then it is to be stressed that this was an engagement with 'the idea of Hesiod', rather than with what we can reconstruct of the nature of the *Catalogue* itself. Our relatively rich information about Callimachus' *Aitia*, in which – particularly in the first two books – the stories of cult origin were introduced and sometimes linked by first-person 'autobiographical' material, offers an important analogy here.[77] The *Aitia*, so Alan Cameron, above all, has argued,[78] was Callimachus' very original version of this mode of 'Hesiodic elegy' as it was to be found in, say, Antimachus and Hermesianax; if so, he has reclaimed for his poem a 'truer' version of 'Hesiod' than that which is imagined for the catalogue-poems, and it is, significantly, not the Hesiod of the *Catalogue*.

We are told by the Plutarchan *Consolatio* that Antimachus (Test. 12 Matthews = 7 Wyss) consoled himself for the death of his beloved wife by writing a full account of heroic sufferings (ἐξαριθμησάμενος τὰς ἡρωικὰς συμφοράς). The source might be thought to make this information suspicious (and 'wife' may indeed be at best an approximation to the lady's actual status), but the general picture is also that painted by Hermesianax (Test. 11 Matthews = 6 Wyss, cf. below) and there is no very good reason to doubt it. In the nature of things, women will have played an important role in the *Lyde*, but it is also clear that the style and tone of these elegiacs was 'epic' and so was much of the material. The story of the Argonauts, for example, was treated at some length, an account which was an important model for Apollonius. No doubt Antimachus knew the *Catalogue* and borrowed details from it,[79] but, despite what is often asserted,[80] there is no sign that the *Catalogue* was for him a privileged model, and we have no evidence as

[77] Cf. e.g. Cairns 1979: 221–2.

[78] Cameron 1995, esp. Chapter 13. The whole debate about Callimachus' attitude to Antimachus and his poetic descendants is not germane here.

[79] Cf. e.g. Wyss 1936: xx; Schwartz 1960: 584.

[80] Cf. e.g. Wyss 1936: xxii. When Hesiod and Antimachus are linked or compared in the critical tradition, it is as 'epic' poets; cf. Antimachus, *Test.* 23–4 Matthews = 25, 28 Wyss.

to how one story was linked to another. It is much more likely that he gave a special place of honour to Mimnermus' *Nanno*, which was perhaps in fact no more than a collection of Mimnermus' elegies, and Martin West's suggestion that the Hellenistic picture of this archaic poem (such as it was) is largely the result of Antimachus' fashioning of Mimnermus as a model for his own work is an attractive one.[81]

The *Leontion* of Hermesianax (early third century), in three books, clearly contained a series of (sometimes transgressive) erotic stories and characters drawn from all over the Greek world (frr. 1–6 Powell); there is nothing to prove that women did not play a major role in every episode. How these stories were linked together, we do not know. Athenaeus, however, preserves a fragment from Book 3 of ninety-eight elegiacs, which one of his characters describes as a κατάλογος ἐρωτικῶν, and which pairs famous poets (from Orpheus to Philitas) and philosophers with alleged girlfriends (fr. 7 Powell).[82] Mimnermus, the 'inventor' of the 'soft pentameter', and hence a privileged model of Hermesianax himself, is here juxtaposed to Homer (who was in love with Penelope . . .). The shift from poets to philosophers is marked by a transitional passage ('not even the sternly virtuous could escape love . . .', vv. 79–84), and some such introduction presumably preceded the opening of our fragment, which is also the opening of the 'catalogue':

> οἵην μὲν φίλος υἱὸς ἀνήγαγεν Οἰάγροιο
> Ἀργιόπην Θρῇισσαν στειλάμενος κιθάρην
> Ἀιδόθεν· ἔπλευσεν δὲ κακὸν καὶ ἀπειθέα χῶρον . . .
>
> Hermesianax fr. 7. 1–3 Powell

Such as Thracian Argiope whom the dear son of Oiagros, equipped with his lyre, brought up from Hades. He sailed to that horrible and inexorable place . . .

The story of Orpheus, the longest in the passage, gives way to Mousaios (οὐ μὴν οὐδ' υἱὸς Μήνης κτλ.), and then Hesiod himself:

> φημὶ δὲ καὶ Βοιωτὸν ἀποπρολιπόντα μέλαθρον
> Ἡσίοδον πάσης ἤρανον ἱστορίης
> Ἀσκραίων ἐσικέσθαι ἐρῶνθ' Ἑλικωνίδα κώμην·
> ἔνθεν ὅ γ' Ἠοίην μνώμενος Ἀσκραικὴν
> πολλ' ἔπαθεν, πάσας δὲ λόγων ἀνεγράψατο βίβλους
> ὑμνῶν, ἐκ πρώτης παιδὸς ἀνερχόμενος.
>
> Hermesianax fr. 7. 21–6 Powell

[81] West 1974: 72–6. For Mimnermus as an 'honorary Hellenistic poet' cf. also Spanoudakis 2001: 426–8.

[82] Cf. esp. Ellenberger 1907, Bing 1993. There is a commentary in Kobiliri 1998, and a new edition by Christiaan Caspers and Martijn Cuypers is in preparation.

I say too that Boeotian Hesiod, the keeper of all research, left his house and, being in love,[83] came to the Heliconian village of the Ascraeans. There he suffered much as he wooed Ascraean Ehoie, and as he sang he filled up all the books of his catalogues, (?) taking his start from the girl first.

Interpretation and text of the final phrase are uncertain, but it would seem that, in addition to making a young lady of Ascra called 'Ehoie' into Hesiod's beloved and thus the *Catalogue* into a celebration of her, Hermesianax represents the *Catalogue* as a series of episodes all beginning ἢ οἵη; here is the simplification of a complex model to which I have already referred. In fact, Hermesianax's catalogues of both poets (v. 1) and philosophers (v. 85) begin οἵη(ν) μέν, but otherwise only v. 57 (Sophocles) Ἀτθὶς δ' οἵα κτλ., v. 71–3 (Philoxenus) οἷα τιναχθεὶς | . . . γιγνώσκεις, and v. 89 (Socrates) οἵωι δ' gesture towards the Hesiodic form, and all three examples are variations, not reproductions, of that form; Hermesianax clearly takes pains to vary the way exempla are introduced, as a way of surpassing in refinement the Hesiodic model. It is also at least worth noting that the pattern of vv. 25–6 finds its closest (indeed only) analogue in vv. 45–6 describing Antimachus:

γόων δ' ἐνεπλήσατο βίβλους
ἱράς, ἐκ παντὸς παυσάμενος καμάτου.
Hermesianax fr. 7. 45–6 Powell

He filled his sacred books with lamentations, ceasing from all suffering.

Does this pattern fashion a 'special relationship' between the *Lyde* and the *Catalogue*?[84]

It is obvious that Hermesianax's version of Hesiod's biography draws closely upon Hesiod's own account of his father's life at *WD* 633–40; genuine traces of the *Catalogue*, however, are hard to find, other than the young lady's name. The compound participle ἀποπρολιπών is attested for the *Megalai Ehoiai* (fr. 257.3), and might have been intended to sound 'Hesiodic', and μνώμενος (v. 24), the only example of 'wooing' in the extract, is perhaps a general reference to the subject-matter of the *Catalogue*, if not a specific allusion to the 'Catalogue of Helen's suitors' (as, just conceivably, is the competition between Alcaeus and Anacreon for Sappho's love (vv. 47–56)). It is perhaps not unfair to suggest that, for Hermesianax as probably for many Hellenistic and Roman poets, the form of a poem may nod to

[83] This is an emendation for the meaningless 'having' of the transmission.

[84] For what it is worth, Hermesianax also uses ἀποπρολιπών of both Hesiod and Antimachus (vv. 21, 44), cf. further below.

the *Catalogue*, but when it comes actually to dealing with Hesiod, it is one of the other two Hesiodic poems which comes into play. Moreover, beyond the passage on Hesiod, there is nothing particularly Hesiodic about Hermesianax's style or language; far from it, in fact.[85] The *Leontion* shows that the *Catalogue* was known, not necessarily that it was closely read.

Much the same is true of what we know of Phanocles' *Erotes or Beautiful Boys*.[86] One fragment is a gnomic expression in the first person (fr. 2 Powell), but it is not known whether the voice is that of the poet or one of his characters. The major preserved fragment of twenty-eight verses tells (again) of Orpheus:

ἢ ὡς Οἰάγροιο πάις Θρηίκιος Ὀρφεὺς
ἐκ θυμοῦ Κάλαιν στέρξε Βορηιάδην,
πολλάκι δὲ σκιεροῖσιν ἐν ἄλσεσιν ἔζετ' ἀείδων
ὃν πόθον κτλ. Phanocles fr. 1.1–4 Powell

Or how the Thracian son of Oiagros, Orpheus, loved with all his heart Calais, the son of Boreas, and often he would sit in shady groves singing of his desire . . .

One other fragment (fr. 3 Powell) introduces Dionysus' love for Adonis with ἢ ὡς,[87] and it is a reasonable speculation that each new story was introduced by this formula, which was probably dependent upon a verb of saying or knowing expressed in a (lost) introduction. Given the Hellenistic fondness for catalogue-poems and poetic catalogues, we may assume that such 'sub-Hesiodic' formulas were not uncommon in poems of more than one kind.[88] Thus, for example, Euphorion uses variations of ἤ . . . ἤ to move from threat to threat in two of his curse-poems (fr. 9 Powell, *SH* 415);[89] another example of that genre, however, the famous 'tattoo elegy', introduces each new threatened tattoo by στίξω δέ 'I will tattoo (on a particular part of your body) . . .'[90] The different tattoos are separated from each other on the second-century BC papyrus by *paragraphoi*, as also happens on some papyri of the *Catalogue*; this is a good illustration of how the Hesiodic poem 'could . . . be seen as a collection of . . . smaller

[85] Cf. Ellenberger 1907: 58–67, 69; Huys 1991: 77–98.
[86] See Hopkinson 1988: 177–81 (citing further bibliography); Lloyd-Jones 1990: 212–14.
[87] The emendation of the transmitted εἰδώς looks certain.
[88] For fragmentary lists of exempla in Hellenistic elegy, cf. Butrica 1996. In *POxy* 3723 a new exemplum (Heracles) is introduced by the non-Hesiodic ναὶ μήν, but something 'Hesiodic' may lurk behind the ambiguous η at the head of verses in *POxy* 2885 fr. 1 (= *SH* 964). Even if the *Apollo* and *Muses* of Alexander Aetolus were catalogue–poems (cf. Magnelli 1999), there is nothing 'Hesiodic' about their manner or style.
[89] Cf. Watson 1991: 96–7.
[90] Cf. Huys 1991. Identifiable 'Hesiodic' elements of style in this poem are all from *Theogony* or *WD*, cf. Huys 1991: 86.

units',[91] by the familiar mimetic process of reducing a model text to a univocal idea.

More interesting than these unsatisfactory (for present purposes) fragments is the song which the lovesick goatherd sings outside Amaryllis' cave in Theocritus' *Third Idyll*:

> Ἱππομένης, ὅκα δὴ τὰν παρθένον ἤθελε γᾶμαι,
> μᾶλ' ἐν χερσὶν ἐλὼν δρόμον ἄνυεν· ἁ δ' Ἀταλάντα
> ὡς ἴδεν, ὡς ἐμάνη, ὡς ἐς βαθὺν ἅλατ' ἔρωτα.
> τὰν ἀγέλαν χὠ μάντις ἀπ' Ὄθρυος ἆγε Μελάμπους
> ἐς Πύλον· ἁ δὲ Βίαντος ἐν ἀγκοίναισιν ἐκλίνθη
> μάτηρ ἁ χαρίεσσα περίφρονος Ἀλφεσιβοίας.
> τὰν δὲ καλὰν Κυθέρειαν ἐν ὤρεσι μῆλα νομεύων
> οὐχ οὕτως Ὤδωνις ἐπὶ πλέον ἄγαγε λύσσας,
> ὥστ' οὐδὲ φθίμενόν νιν ἄτερ μαζοῖο τίθητι;
> ζαλωτὸς μὲν ἐμὶν ὁ τὸν ἄτροπον ὕπνον ἰαύων
> Ἐνδυμίων· ζαλῶ δέ, φίλα γύναι, Ἰασίωνα,
> ὃς τόσσων ἐκύρησεν, ὅσ' οὐ πευσεῖσθε, βέβαλοι.
>
> Theocritus 3.40–51

Hippomenes, when he wished to wed the maiden, took apples in his hands and accomplished the race; Atalanta saw, became crazed, and leapt into a deep passion.

Melampous the seer also led the herd from Othrys to Pylos. In Bias' arms lay the lovely mother of wise Alphesiboia.

Was not the beautiful lady of Kythera so driven to madness by Adonis as he herded his flocks on the mountains that she does not put him away from her breast even in death?

Lucky in my view is Endymion who slumbers in a sleep without release. Lucky too, dear Lady, I count Iasion, whose fate was such as you non-initiates will never learn.

We may imagine that the goatherd pauses for a 'response' after each three-verse section, and this effect is reinforced by the minimal links between the sections.[92] Of these exempla, however, Atalanta and Hippomenes (frr. 72–6),[93] Melampous and Bias and (very likely) Alphesiboia (fr. 37), Adonis (fr. 139), and Endymion (fr. 10a. 60–2) appeared in the *Catalogue*, and Iasion's story was told of Eetion (fr. 177), who was later identified with Iasion,[94] and there was another Iasion in the *Catalogue* (fr. 185.6). It is more likely that this is a 'parody' of contemporary poetry (very likely elegiac)

[91] Rutherford 2000: 89.

[92] Cf. my note on χὠ (v. 43). The simple connective δέ in v. 46, which Meineke wished to delete, is a very common form in Hesiodic catalogues, cf. e.g. *Theogony* 930–62, *Catalogue* fr. 10a.

[93] Cf. Meliadò 2003.

[94] Hellanicus, *FGrHist* 4 F23 (= fr. 23 Fowler).

than of Hesiod,[95] and Theocritus has overloaded the 'Hesiodic' material as a way of laying bare – as parody does – the history and affiliation of the parodied form. We may also note that the story of Melampous and Bias appears in the Odyssean 'Catalogue of Women' (*Od.* 11. 281–97) and that of Demeter and Iasion in the catalogue of goddesses who slept with men in the *Theogony* (*Theog.* 969–74). Here, then, is a 'mythical' song with a personal frame of the kind that historians of Roman elegy seek, and a poem which in some ways may bring us closer to the *Catalogue* than do the so-called 'catalogue-poems'. It would be left to Ovid fully to realise the potential of the catalogue form in a changed poetic world.[96]

[95] Cf. Hunter 1999: 122–3, citing further bibliography.
[96] Cf. Obbink 2004, Farrell (forthcoming), Fletcher (this volume).

CHAPTER II

From genealogy to Catalogue*: the Hellenistic adaptation of the Hesiodic catalogue form*

Helen Asquith

Cataloguing and Hellenistic scholarly activity are frequently linked; this same cataloguing impulse is thought by some to underlie Hellenistic *Kollektivgedichte* – a group of poems that have in common the presentation of a number of narratives within a single work. These pieces appear to present themselves as successors to the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*, but in fact make only a limited use of its features. Their use of formulae, that is, appears to attribute the inspiration for their cataloguing of discontinuous narratives to the Hesiodic model, but there is no evidence that genealogical lists were included, or that the Hellenistic poems had the complex and varied rhythm and structure of the *Catalogue of Women*. It does not, however, seem wholly accurate to attribute the form and characteristics of this poetry to a scholarly interest in cataloguing alone, or to deem them 'crudely Hesiodic' or 'mechanical'.[1]

I would like to suggest that there are areas other than that of outline form in which the *Catalogue* appealed to Hellenistic poets, and that their use of formulae and narratives shows creative engagement with the Hesiodic poem. The altered cultural situations of the archaic and Hellenistic periods may account for some of the major differences, and in addition some of our knowledge of *Kollektivgedichte* is flawed through the excessive reliance that has been placed on the deliberately misleading information contained in Hermesianax's catalogue of poets. The Hellenistic poems have differing generic affiliations: Nicander's *Heteroioumena* and Boios' *Ornithogonia* cast their tales within a didactic framework; for Antimachus' *Lyde* and Hermesianax's *Leontion*, on the other hand, an amatory frame is frequently assumed. Poems known or suspected to have used Hesiodic formulae are Phanocles' *Erotes*, Nicaenetus' *Catalogue of Women* and Sostratus' ἢ οἷοι (*Or Such Men*); the anonymous *Tattoo Elegy* applied the formulae instead to a curse poem. Euphorion's *Thrax* seems to have used a complex variant

[1] Cameron 1995: 381. See also Lightfoot 1999: 24–5, and in general Hunter (this volume) pp. 259–65.

of the catalogue form in his curse poem, while the *Teiresias* differs again in that it appears to have been a continuous narrative divided up into a string of segments.

THE NARRATIVES

The frequency with which narrative passages occurred in the *Catalogue of Women* was highly variable. Fragment 10a, for instance, is dominated by genealogy for the first eighty verses, but then appears to have a fifteen-line narrative about Ceyx and Alkyone before the genealogy is resumed. At the other end of the scale, the fragment concerned with Mestra and Glaucus comprises just over ninety verses (43a), with very little in the way of genealogy. The far longer catalogue of Helen's suitors is a special case, but it demonstrates nonetheless the amount of extension that could be permitted. Some versions of the *Catalogue* may have included certain episodes expanded to a still greater extent; the *Aspis* is the most famous of these, but the *Wedding of Ceyx* and the *Katabasis of Perithous* might also be included.[2] The nature of these narratives also varies: some, like the Mestra segment, grow away from the stemmata to take on a life of their own; the shorter passages, however, seem to arise naturally out of the genealogies, as a compliment to them. This is a poem about heroes' identities, and a hero's exploits and characteristic behaviour or possessions were a part of this identity and a justification of the prestigious status that he gained through his genealogy.[3] The description of Demodike's suitors (22) is a mark of her status and the strength and importance of her line. The laudatory remarks on Meleager that preface the enumeration of his siblings (25.1–3) measure his prowess, that is, his status and through it his identity as a hero, against both them and all the other heroes, Heracles apart:

ὃς μέγ[᾽ ἄριστος ἔην
ἔγχει μάρνασθα[ι
πλή<γ> γ᾽ Ἡρακλῆ[ος

He was greatly the best . . .
to do battle with the spear . . .
except for Heracles . . .
Hesiod fr. 25.1–3

[2] See Janko 1982: 86; Lamberton 1988: 135–6; against Merkelbach and West 1965: 300.

[3] For the importance of heroes' patronymics see, e.g., Higbie 1995. For the converse of heroic identity, the relative lack of defining character for female names, see Lyons 1997: 51–5.

Of the tales that grow away from the functional role of augmenting and feeding back into the genealogy, the Mestra fragment is the most complex example, telling as it does the stories of a number of figures (43a). The segment begins with the characterisation of Erysichthon through his burning hunger,[4] a description of the scam by which he received a very substantial bride-price for Mestra, who then escaped marriage by changing her shape (vv. 31–3), and the legal dispute that then followed (36–43). Glaucus (for whom Sisyphus had originally procured Mestra) was unable to perpetuate his line:

> ἀλλ᾽ οὔ πως ἤιδει Ζηνὸς νόον αἰγιόχοιο
> ὡς οὔ οἱ δοῖεν Γλαύκωι γένος Οὐρανίωνες
> ἐκ Μήστρης καὶ σπέρμα μετ᾽ ἀνθρώποισι λιπέσ[θαι.
> Hesiod fr. 43a.52–4

But he in no way knew the will of aegis-bearing Zeus, that the heavenly ones would not grant to Glaucus a *genos* from Mestra, or to leave his seed among men.

Poseidon carried Mestra off to Cos, where she bore to him Eurypylus, whose sons were killed by Heracles on his return from Laomedon's Troy. Mestra then returned to her father at Athens (55–67); the conclusion to her story is unclear: the focus changes to a daughter of Pandion, again wanted by Sisyphus for his son:

> τῆς μὲν Σίσυφο]ς Αἰολίδης πειρήσατο βουλέων
> βοῦς ἐλάσα[ς· ἀλλ᾽ οὔ τι Διὸ]ς νόον αἰγιόχοιο
> ἔγνω· ὁ μ[ὲν δώροις διζ]ήμενος ἦλθε γυνα[ῖκα
> βουλῆι Ἀθ[ηναίης· τῶι δὲ] νεφεληγερέτα Ζεὺ[ς
> ἀθανάτωι ἀ[νένευσε] καρήατι μή ποτ᾽ ὀπ. .[
> ἔσσεσθαι .[. . . . . .]ητου Σισυφίδαο.
> Hesiod fr. 43a.75–80

Sisyphus the son of Aeolus tested her plans, driving his oxen; but he in no way knew the mind of aegis-bearing Zeus. He came with gifts seeking the woman by the plan of Athene; but Zeus the cloud-gatherer shook his immortal head, that at no time would there be [a descendant] of Sisyphus.[5]

Again, Zeus does not sanction the union, and it is Poseidon's child, Bellerophon, that is born. The story of Pegasus and the Chimaera follows, but the last legible words of the fragment, ἥ τέ[κε ('she bore'), show that the genealogical thread is once again being reasserted.

[4] See Levaniouk 2000. For the Mestra segment, see Rutherford (this volume).

[5] Alternatively, 'that the son of Sisyphus would never have sons of one father', cf. Evelyn-White 1913: 218.

The story of Mestra is that of the genealogical process, of the problems that can occur in the course of wooing and the efforts made by men to secure their line. It thus provides a commentary on the processes behind the genealogical parts of the poem in a way distinct from the passages concerned with presenting the notable features of heroes as part of their identity. Other narrative passages, too, describe unusual or skewed forms of the courtship process, such as Atalanta's race, or the Porthaonides roaming the mountains until Apollo took one to be a bride for his son Melampous (fr. 26.5–37). A further feature of the *Catalogue* in evidence is the inclusion of the events of major epic in a manner that seems to give them only secondary importance. Heracles' sack of Laomedon's Troy and Cos appear only for the sake of explaining how it is that Mestra's line died out so soon; Bellerophon's slaying of the Chimaera is dismissed in four verses, whereas Mestra's tricking of Sisyphus was described at far greater length.

The narratives of the *Catalogue* are thus varied: they are not necessarily about unions with gods, nor about their sons' exploits. Such elements are instead mingled with tales in which women play a prominent role, and at times a strong erotic element is present. The description of Zeus' dramatic punishment of Salmoneus, for instance, leads into the story of Poseidon's love for Tyro (fr. 30). These characteristics of the *Catalogue of Women* would have held a continued attraction for the Hellenistic poets. The myths given most attention in their works are peripheral, rather than major mythological landmarks, and the manner in which they are told establishes a precedent for the use of short pieces. In all the collective poets (except for the earlier Antimachus) there is a clear preference for marginal figures. The stories that are popular with Hermesianax, Boios, Nicander, and Euphorion involve characters from the borders of the major myths, Nymphs, or the sons or grandsons of gods or heroes. Nicander and Boios chose stories for their links with metamorphosis, which further ensured that their tales did not come from the mainstream of myth; Nicander's stories tend to be peculiar to certain local cults, and often do not involve the major deities, such as Zeus or Hera.[6]

The stories attributed to the first two books of Hermesianax's *Leontion* tell of unfortunate love affairs: Polyphemus' love for Galateia (fr. 1 Powell), the love triangle of Daphnis, Menalcas and Euippe (frr. 2–3), Arceophon's scorned love for Arsinoe (fr. 4 = Anton. Lib. *Met.* 39), Leucippus' incest with his sister and his accidental parricide (fr. 5 = Parth. *E.P.* 5), and perhaps also Nanis' love for Cyrus, which led her to betray her city, only to be rejected

[6] Cf. Forbes Irving 1990: 28.

(fr. 6 = Parth. *E.P.* 22).[7] Such misadventures parallel the courtship troubles that the Hesiodic *Catalogue* narrates. Erotic tales, and particularly tales of unusual or unsanctioned love, were popular with the Hellenistic poets, and the *Catalogue*'s erotic theme would surely have been appreciated and emulated.[8] The lost *Teiresias* elegy, for instance, appears to have described at least four sexual encounters leading to Teiresias' sex-changes: her early affair with Apollo, her love for Callon, the attempted rape by Glyphius, and finally her love affair with Arachnus, in consequence of which he boasted that he had slept with Hera and the couple were turned into a weasel and a mouse (*SH* 733).[9] It is notable that although on three occasions Teiresias was turned into a man, there is no explicit story of her having sex as a man: at best, this is merely implied – καὶ αὐτὴν ἀνδρωθεῖσαν κρῖναι Δία καὶ Ἥραν ('and that made into a man, she judged between Zeus and Hera'). While the concern with women's sexual experience cannot be certainly attributed to Hesiod, it is none the less indicative of the interests of the period.

Phanocles' *Erotes* inverts the theme of the Hesiodic *Catalogue*, its professed model. In dealing with homosexual affairs, it adapts conventional myths to the exclusion of women from the relationships described: Adonis, for example, is now courted by Dionysus rather than by Aphrodite (fr. 3 Powell). Existing homosexual relationships are also brought forward from the background of myth, in the way that heterosexual relations had already been: the local cult myth of Agamemnon's desire for Argynnos is used (fr. 5 Powell), for instance, and a variant of the Ganymede story is adopted in which Tantalus abducted the boy and 'groomed' him for Zeus's service (fr. 4 Powell).

In the Orpheus fragment, the presence of the authorial voice is repressed as in traditional narrative poetry, in contrast with Callimachus' more engaged style. The pastoral overtones of the setting are a Hellenistic element with no parallel in Hesiod, but the opening distich provides genealogical information about Orpheus and his beloved:

> ἢ ὡς Οἰάγροιο πάις Θρηίκος Ὀρφεὺς
> ἐκ θυμοῦ Κάλαιν στέρξε Βορηιάδην
> Phanocles fr. 1.1–2 Powell

Or as Thracian Orpheus, the son of Oeagrus, loved Calais son of Boreas from the bottom of his heart.

[7] For abnormal love in Hermesianax, cf. Latacz 1985: 89–90. Boios seems to have been particularly fond of this theme; among the tales attributed to him are stories of mother–son incest (Anton. Lib. *Met.* 5) and of a girl who had intercourse with a bear (Anton. Lib. *Met.* 21).

[8] Cf. Rutherford 2000: 86 for the 'light' nature of the tales in the *Catalogue of Women*.

[9] For this poem, see O'Hara 1996: 173–219.

In contrast to the tales of the Hesiodic *Catalogue*, such affairs are all ultimately fruitless, in that they cannot end with a list of children. The Orpheus segment is doubly so, for the bard never succeeds in wooing his beloved; Apollonius may have been alluding to this sense of unattainable love when he echoed Phanocles' verse in his description of the Argonauts' encounter with the Sirens.[10]

οἱ δ' ἀπὸ νηὸς
ἤδη πείσματ' ἔμελλον ἐπ' ἠιόνεσσι βαλέσθαι,
εἰ μὴ ἄρ' Οἰάγροιο πάις Θρηίκιος Ὀρφεὺς
Βιστονίην ἐνὶ χερσὶν ἑαῖς φόρμιγγα τανύσσας
κραιπνὸν εὐτροχάλοιο μέλος κανάχησεν ἀοιδῆς.
Ap. Rhod. *Arg.* 4.903–7

They were indeed about to throw the cables from the ship onto the shore, if Thracian Orpheus, the son of Oeagrus, stringing the Bistonian lyre in his hands, had not rung out a swift strain of rushing song.

The one Argonaut who does jump overboard, Boutes, cannot reach the Sirens any more than Orpheus can reach the winged Calais.[11] In the details of this fragment, too, Phanocles subordinates all the conventional aspects of the Orpheus myth to his story of love and punishment. The love for Calais itself is thought to be his own invention,[12] and this particular aetion for tattooing appears nowhere else.[13] The expected elements of Orpheus' Underworld journey and his power to charm rocks occur only in a description of his lyre's power after its burial with him, while the Orpheus cult on Lesbos is at most just hinted at by the epithet 'holy':[14]

τὰς δ' ἱερῇι Λέσβωι πολιὴ ἐπέκελσε θάλασσα
Phanocles fr. 1.15

The grey sea brought them ashore at holy Lesbos.

ἐν δὲ χέλυν τύμβωι λιγυρὴν θέσαν, ἣ καὶ ἀναύδους
πέτρας καὶ Φόρκου στυγνὸν ἔπειθεν ὕδωρ.
Phanocles fr. 1.19–20

In the tomb they placed the shrill lyre, and it prevailed upon the silent rocks and gloomy water of Phorcys.

[10] The priority of Phanocles over Apollonius cannot be proven, but I think it likely in this case, for the presentation of a genealogy is far more essential to Phanocles' passage than it is in its Apollonian context. Cf. Scherer 2002: 176 n. 4.

[11] For Calais' inaccessibility, see Stern 1979: 139.

[12] Cf. Stern 1979: 138, 139. [13] Cf. Marcovich 1979: 365–6.

[14] For the Orpheus cult, see Guthrie 1935, esp. 35–6; Graf 1987: 92–5; Scherer 2002: 182. West 1983a: 4 and Graf 1987: 80 list what might be seen as the recurrent elements in most versions of the Orpheus myth.

Like the author of the *Catalogue*, therefore, Phanocles has greatly decreased the traditional elements of myth while promoting the erotic and unusual.

FORMULAE AND STRUCTURE

The *Ehoie*-formula in the Hesiodic *Catalogue* appears in the fragments only nine times, including the beginning of the *Aspis* and the conjecture for 43a.2,[15] and the evidence is thus too scanty for certainty about its use. According to West, the formulae were not merely paragraph marks, but signalled points at which the genealogy jumped back to an earlier part of the stemma after completing a collateral branch.[16] They may also have applied specifically to women who were mated by gods.[17] It is clear, however, that they were not used to introduce every such instance. In fr. 177.5, Electra's union with Zeus marks a switch of several generations back up the Atlantid stemma after the Spartan descendants of Taygete and Zeus had been set out.[18] No *ehoie* occurs, although this neglect can hardly be owing to any lack of importance, for the Trojan line descended from Electra. Where the *ehoiai* do occur, they are not restricted either to narrative or to genealogical passages. There seems, in fact, to be little uniformity in their employment. While the Mestra (fr. 43a), Atalanta (frr. 73–6) and Porthaonid (fr. 26) passages are dominated by narrative, the Thesteid-*ehoie* is followed by genealogy, and the Asterodeia-*ehoie* introduces a genealogy that is then elaborated by a description of how her sons fought in her womb (fr. 58.7–13).

Rutherford has postulated that the formulae are a sign that once '*Ehoie* poetry' – poems about famous women, 'paradigms of female excellence' – existed distinct from genealogical poetry.[19] This appears to have some force, for the syntactic implications of ἠ̓ οἷαι suggest a comparative function. According to Steinrück, this is prepared for by questions in the prologue:[20]

> αἳ τότ᾽ ἄρισται ἔσαν[
>
> Who were the best . . .
> fr. 1.3
>
> τάων ἔσπετε Μ[οῦσαι . . .
> ὅσσ[αι]ς δὴ παρελ[έξατ᾽ Ὀλύμπιος εὐρύοπα Ζεύς
> fr. 1.14–15

[15] The other instances are: frr. 23a.3, 26.5, 58.7, 59.1, 71A.12, 181, 215.1.
[16] West 1985a: 33–5, 47–9; cf. Rutherford 2000: 84–5. [17] West 1985a: 63–4.
[18] Frr. 169–78. Diagram in West 1985a: 180. [19] Rutherford 2000: 88–96.
[20] Steinrück 1996: 26–8. Cf. further Irwin (this volume) 38.

Muses, tell which of them . . . how many did Olympian, broad-seeing Zeus lie beside . . .

The formulae are to pick out particular women in response to such questions as the poem progresses. The women selected in what we possess of the *Catalogue* seem to be notorious, rather than being paradigms of *kleos*. The daughters of Thestius all deserted their husbands; the Porthaonides roamed the mountains, most indecorously; Mestra was involved in a swindle; Asterodeia is notable for the mutual hatred of her sons; and Atalanta, while we do not know whether Hesiod included the story of her profanation of a temple, is an odd paradigm for a genealogical tale, for she despised marriage (ἀναινομένη δῶρα [χρυσῆς Ἀφροδίτης fr. 76.6).

The structure of the Hesiodic *Catalogue* was highly complex: genealogy is a two- or three-dimensional form, and to reduce it to the linearity of a verse rendition inevitably creates problems for a poet.[21] Not only must siblings and their offspring each be set down in turn, something that entails leaps between generations, but also each time a figure marries there must be a cross-reference to the family of the bride's husband, possibly long before or long after its original appearance. Decisions must be taken as to whether offspring should be described when their mother's or their father's line is described. This at times entails passages of recapitulation: for instance, when two of the daughters of Leucon marry two cousins, Copreus and Eteoklus, the men's descent is traced back to their grandfather Minyas (70.28–35). Asserting order and providing signposts among all this are a host of minor formulae, such as λέχος εἰσαναβᾶσα ('entered the marriage bed') or ποιήσατ' ἄκοιτιν ('made her his wife') or ἣ τέκεν ('she bore').[22]

The Hellenistic catalogues seem to show a great simplification of their model's form. We do not know if Phanocles had any genealogical material, but the lack of any progenitive emphasis in the poem makes it seem unlikely. Both he and Hermesianax attached the formulae to narratives alone, and there is no evidence for connecting material between these tales. In the *Erotes*, the formula has been altered to ἢ ὡς; this adjustment makes the narratives which follow refer not so much to a person, in the way that ἢ' οἵη does, as a course of events: 'Or as Orpheus loved', 'Or as mountain-roaming Dionysus seized Adonis'. If more of the *Erotes* remained, in particular any introduction it may have had, we would be in a better position to judge whether this implies a full understanding of the use of the Hesiodic employment of the formula, and of the need to adapt it to suit a new

[21] Cf. West 1985a: 46.
[22] For these subordinate formulae, see: Heilinger 1983: 22–4, 34.

context. From what does remain, however, the poem appears to have been about a type of relationship and its aetiological results, rather than about a type of woman and the results of her mating for future generations. The change of formula appears apt, but it is impossible now to tell whether the repeated ἢ ὡς . . . ἢ ὡς . . . ἢ ὡς . . . 'or as . . . or as . . . or as . . .' was given an especial application or focus. There could have been a justification of paederastic love affairs, or, perhaps more likely, given the unhappy outcome of most of the stories known to have been narrated by Phanocles, a warning against any deep involvement in such affairs. But in addition, or perhaps in place of this, the nature of Phanocles' adoption of the *Catalogue of Women* has at least the potential for some passage inviting contrast between this new, up-to-date view of the past, and the Hesiodic original: 'Hesiod has sung of how maidens were mated with gods, and how from such unions came the race of heroes, from whom all the tribes of Greece are descended and from whom many of our cities gained their names. But, Muse, tell me in what way gods or heroes had unions with mortal lads; such unions had no human issue, yet nonetheless wrought changes that persist to this very day. Such as the way that X . . . , or as Thracian Orpheus, son of Oeagrus, loved Boread Calaïs from the depths of his heart . . .'

The Orpheus fragment displays such a high degree of internal cohesion that it would not be easy to continue it through any kind of narrative linking material. The segment as a whole is unified by the double aetiology, while the first six lines are also given internal cohesion by the repeated Κάλαιν . . . Κάλαιν in vv. 2 and 6. After the attack by the Thracian women in vv. 7–10, the head, with the lyre attached, floats down to Lesbos, and its burial there gives rise to the *aition* for the musical nature of the island's people:

> ἐκ κείνου μολπαί τε καὶ ἱμερτὴ κιθαριστὺς
> νῆσον ἔχει, πασέων δ' ἐστὶν ἀοιδοτάτη.
> Phanocles fr. 1.21–2

From this fact singing and charming lyre-playing possess the island, and it is the most musical of all.

Rather than using these lines to achieve closure, Phanocles then returns to the Thracians (1.23–8). The penal tattooing of the women provides a second aetiology, enclosing the first within a frame of Thracian violence. Several of the passage's themes make it possible that it may have been one of the first segments of the poem. Orpheus is not only a poet-figure, but is also presented as the *protos heuretes* of homosexuality. Calais' name is

comparable to *kalos*, so that he appears the archetypal 'pretty boy'.[23] If this was the case, then whatever Orpheus' love was compared to must have been contained within the introduction.

For the *Leontion*, the question is more complex, but also more informative. The initial segments of Hermesianax's lists of poets and philosophers begin with the formula οἵη(ν) μέν. This is a crucial adaptation of the Hesiodic ἠ' οἵη, for it indicates an understanding that ἠ' (*or*) must refer to a paradigm at the beginning of the catalogue that initiates the listing of all the other descriptions of women as comparisons.[24] In addition, the introduction to the catalogue of philosophers shows just such a relative clause structure as Steinrück had traced in the prologue to the *Catalogue of Women*:

οὐδὲ μὲν οὐδ' ὁπόσοι σκληρὸν ἐστήσαντο
ἀνθρώπων, σκοτίην μαιόμενοι σοφίην,
οὓς αὐτὴ περὶ πυκνὰ λόγοις ἐσφίγξατο μῆτις,
καὶ δεινὴ μύθων κῆδος ἔχουσ' ἀρετή,
οὐδ' οἵδ' αἰνὸν ἔρωτος ἀπεστρέψαντο κυδοιμὸν
μαινομένου, δεινὸν δ' ἦλθον ὑφ' ἡνίοχον.
οἵη μὲν Σάμιον μανίη κατέδησε Θεανοῦς
Πυθαγόρην κτλ. Hermesianax fr. 7.79–86

And in no way do however many men who established an austere life, seeking after obscure wisdom, whom their craft has bound up fast with its words, and the terrible virtue that takes pains about legends – they do not turn back the dire hubbub of raging love, but have come under the sway of a dreadful charioteer; such a madness for Theano bound Samian Pythagoras . . .

This displays how, at least in Hermesianax's eyes, the Hesiodic formula operated. A description of the group was followed by examples of individuals, serving, indeed, as paradigms. It does, however, come with the caveat that this is a very compressed, parodic catalogue. Even the model may be at risk of misrepresentation.

The intervening segments are begun by a wider variety of formulae than is found elsewhere. Hermesianax introduces addresses to a second person: Λέσβιος Ἀλκαῖος δὲ . . . γιγνώσκεις ('you know Lesbian Alcaeus', 47, 49), ἄνδρα δὲ τὸν Κυθέρηθεν . . . γιγνώσκεις ('you know the man from Cythera' 69, 73), οἶσθα δὲ καὶ τὸν ἀοιδόν ('you also know the poet', 75), along with his own emphatic assertions φημὶ δὲ καί ('and I say', 21, 61).

[23] Cf. Stern 1979: 138.

[24] *Pace* Ellenberger 1907: 26, who confessed that at first he was misled into thinking Hermesianax had understood Hesiod's formula, but then came to realise that he had read it as an exclamation: '*Ehoie*! Madness about Theano bound fast Samian Pythagoras . . .' (!)

Either the poet or an inset speaker is far more actively involved in the process of cataloguing, and assumes that his audience (internal or external) is likewise involved: the stress is a good deal more on the performance of the list. The formulae do not have a merely syntactic or comparative role, but are given extra life as attempts to direct the audience's attention. But the two initial οἵη formulae remain to assert that this is nonetheless a Hesiodic-style catalogue, and that the vignettes are serving as exemplars: as the *Catalogue of Women* was concerned with women loved by gods, so this catalogue is concerned with poets and philosophers who suffered in love.

CONTEXTS AND CULTURES

It is the retention by Hellenistic poets of the Hesiodic formulae within a very simplified catalogue structure that has led commentators to suggest that they justified their cataloguing by reference to Hesiod, but rarely truly engaged with the *Catalogue of Women*.[25] This supposition should, however, be modified by an understanding of the change in attitudes towards genealogies that occurred over time. The myths of the Hesiodic *Catalogue* are not isolated, introduced abruptly, given internal coherence and closure, and then abandoned, but rather share in and contribute to the ethos of the poem: heroic *kleos*, but above all wooing and marriage. Through their genealogical setting, they gain in addition an immense cultural and geographical context. In archaic times, genealogy was a politically loaded form; it functioned on two levels: the upper, toponymic reaches mapped and explained power relationships and ideas of kinship among broad sections of the Greek states, while the dynastic heroes of the lower stages were influenced more by local and aristocratic assertions of status.[26] As expressions of hierarchies, genealogies were a subjective construct, manipulated by states for the purposes of propaganda or the advancement of territorial claims.[27]

The manner in which different attitudes about ethnicity can be seen in genealogies is evident in the alternative traditions concerning Hellen and his offspring. Hecataeus presents him as the son of Pronous, son of

[25] Cf. Hunter (this volume) p. 259.

[26] For this duality, see Hall 1997: 77–8, 87–9. For power relationships among states: West 1985a: 11; Fowler 1998: 11–15; Hall 1997: 34–106; for dynastic use of genealogies in Sparta, see Calame 1987: 153–186; Thomas 1989: 177–9, Fowler 1998: 6–7.

[27] E.g. the dispute between Athens and Megara over Salamis, Nilsson 1951: 53–8; Thomas 1989: 163–5; Wickersham 1991: 16–31.

Deucalion, and Ion as the grandson of Aetolus, grandson of Orestheus, son of Deucalion (*FGrHist* 1 F13–16). For Hellanicus and the Hesiodic author, Hellen is Deucalion's son, and in the *Catalogue* his own sons are Xouthos, Aeolus and Doros (fr. 9; *FGrHist* 4 F125). Aetolus is Aeolus' grandson, with Calydon and Pleuron as his children (fr. 10a.64–5), and he is thus Hellenic, unlike his status in Hecataeus' version. Achaeus and Ion are Xouthos' sons (fr. 10a.20–4), and so not only Hellenic, but more closely related to Hellen than Aetolus.[28]

Genealogies thus reflect the images that particular groups of archaic Greeks held of themselves and their past,[29] and the myths arise out of this cultural matrix. While the myths 'explain' the shape of the genealogy by providing the how and why of its births, deaths and marriages, the genealogy sets the mythological narratives in the context of cult, geography, dynasty, and related myths. The Argive Acrisius, for instance, marries Eurydice, daughter of Lacedaemon and Sparte (129.10–13), and this has been seen as an expression of Spartan ambitions on Argive territory.[30] Acusilaus of Argos for his part made Sparta's toponym an Argive, presenting Sparton as son to the Argive first man Phoroneus (*FGrHist* 2F24). The particular genealogical thread chosen for the *Catalogue* thus indicates an adherence to the Spartan version of the stemma, while the marriage also explains why Perseus' daughter Gorgophone, the great-granddaughter of Eurydice, should marry the Spartan Oebalus when her brothers all marry daughters of Pelops and are connected to a wholly different range of myths (frr. 190, 191, 193). In effect, the narratives and the genealogy appear to be mutually supportive aetiologies. The Hellenistic catalogue poems lack this plurality, and thus also lack the tension between the discourse suggested by the genealogy and that suggested by the *Ehoiai*.

Genealogy retained its political value into the Hellenistic age and beyond, as Curty's analysis of the epigraphical evidence demonstrates.[31] Not only were variations upon the formula φίλοι καὶ συγγενεῖς ('friends and kinsmen') frequently used in order to establish one state's claim to the support of another on the basis of kinship, but negotiations with myth to underwrite these claims are at times in evidence. Inscriptions concerning Xanthus (75 Curty) and Argos (4, 5 Curty) contain detailed mythical expositions as

[28] For the complications and significance of these different constructions of the Hellenic genealogy, see Nilsson 1951: 66–8; West 1985a: 50–60; Fowler 1988: 14–18; Hall 1997: 42–56.

[29] Thalmann 1984: 74–5; Thomas 1989: 156; Fowler 1998: 18.

[30] Calame 1987: 165; cf. Nilsson 1951: 75; Hall 1997: 81–3.

[31] Curty 1995.

proof of common ancestry.[32] Genealogy must thus have been subject to continuing evolution in order to meet political requirements, especially as the Hesiodic tradition takes little notice of the islands and Ionia. At the same time, however, genealogy does not seem to have been used in poetry on a large scale. To a certain extent, *ktisis* poetry would have taken on some of its former functions. A certain change of attitude may, however, have been the underlying cause of its abandonment. While for politicians genealogy remained negotiable, for poets and scholars the process of canon-formation may have altered the situation.[33] Once the Hesiodic poem had been granted a special status in the eyes of Hellenistic poets, the idea of continued reworking of long genealogical poetry may have come to be viewed in the same light as cyclical epic. That is, such poetry might be written, but would not meet with ready approval. Thus, Callimachus and Aratus in their appropriation of Hesiod seek not to replicate his work but to recreate it in a form that suited their contemporary world. The same sources for the ongoing popularity of genealogy reveal that it was considered to be a species of 'easy reading'. Polybius saw it as a genre preferred by those who were not enquiring or interested in antiquity.[34] As such, it would have been a form lacking in appeal to Alexandrian poets, who sought innovation in the commemoration of past and present cultures.

At the same time, however, the implicit use by the Hesiodic *Catalogue* of the mythical past to explain and contextualise the present would have been attractive to the Hellenistic catalogue-poets. In this light, the work becomes one of the first aetiological poems, and its combination of aetiology with brief erotic tales finds clear parallels in Hellenistic practice. It appears, for instance, from the passage of Plutarch in which it is cited, that Phanocles' tale of Dionysus and Adonis was connected to the identification of the two figures in certain cults.[35] The story of Agamemnon and Argynnos (fr. 5 Powell) is a cult myth of the temple of Aphrodite Argynnos. Nicander (in his *Heteroioumena*) and Boios also make extensive use of aetiology. The simplification of the Hesiodic *Catalogue* into a sequence of formula-and-narrative units is thus not necessarily a symptom of a lack of engagement by the Hellenistic poets with their supposed model. It may rather be viewed as the extraction from a seemingly outmoded form of those characteristics still reflective of poetic taste, of a refining process that dispensed with a frame apparently lacking relevance, now that interest was in the local and peculiar rather than the panhellenic.

[32] Curty 1995: 10–15, 183–91, 242–53.
[33] For the formation of 'canons' in the fourth and third centuries, see Pfeiffer 1968: 204–7.
[34] Polybius 9.1.4; cf. Thomas 1989: 173–4. See also Plato, *Hipp. Mai.* 285d.
[35] Fr. 3 Powell.

SUBJECTIVITY – A PUTATIVE CONTEXT?

The relationship between the Hesiodic *Catalogue* and the Hellenistic poems is, however, complicated by confused evidence for a separate line of influence, that of erotic elegiac poems. The two main strands of material here are provided by Hermesianax and papyrus fragments. Of these, Hermesianax is worthy of the most attention for the sake of his highly skewed presentation of his predecessors. The idea of a 'subjective' erotic context for Hellenistic *Kollektivgedichte* seems a chimera, but one that perhaps is worth tracing to its source. I have already described the ways in which Hermesianax appears to be engaging with the characteristics of the Hesiodic *Catalogue*. While his use in particular of the formulae signals this generic alignment, the title he chose suggests an allegiance to the *Bittis*, *Lyde* and *Nanno*, poems which supposedly had a personal element. The evidence for such an element, however, rests in part upon the comments of Hermesianax himself.

The sources for the *Leontion* divide in two: tales attributed to it by Parthenius and Antoninus Liberalis, and the 98-line catalogue. The latter tells its stories very tersely, in a manner that avoids variety and reduces many of the tales to a set formula. With the exception of Mousaios, Mimnermus and Philitas, for instance, all the poets are described as going on a journey, even though in Sophocles' case this means that the move from suburban Colonus into Athens proper is represented as a major change. The organisation of the catalogue is pedestrian: poets appear in pairs according to genre and chronology; types of opening and laudatory phrases proliferate, echo each other, and merge.

The best evidence for the style and presentation of the tales in the remainder of the poem occurs in Antoninus' summary of the story of Arceophon and Arsinoe (*Met.* 39 = fr. 4 Powell). Unlike those of Parthenius, Antoninus' summaries seem to display something of the characteristics of their models.[36] Differences are discernible, for instance, between tales attributed to Nicander and those attributed to Boios,[37] and in most of the summaries it is rare for there to be detail unrelated to the major actions and motivations of the story in question, along with the specifics of metamorphosis, bird

[36] We know of the sources from the manchettes in the margin of the papyrus. It is thought that these do not date back to the authors themselves (Lightfoot 1999: 248–9; Papathomopoulos 1968: xvi–xix), but where their reliability can be checked, the source ascriptions are reasonably accurate, although for Parthenius in particular the work named may be a secondary source, rather than the main model (Lightfoot 1999: 249–51, 517; cf. Latte 1935: 141; Bartoletti 1948: 36, van Groningen 1977: 255).

[37] Forbes-Irving 1990: 23–8 considers the differences in character between them; cf. Lightfoot 1999: 226.

omen, or cult *aition*. Where extra detail does occur, therefore, it becomes more likely that Antoninus was influenced by the particular style of his source. His account of the Arceophon and Arsinoe tale begins with a fuller than usual account of the ancestry and status of the pair: it is presented as something more subtle than a simple clash of rich and poor – Arceophon is rich, but Phoenician; Arsinoe is the king's daughter, and her family can trace their line back to Teucer. Arceophon is described serenading Arsinoe's house with young men of his own age, bribing her nurse with gifts, and desiring to sleep with her without her parents' knowledge. The mutilation of the nurse is also depicted in detail. Unusually for Antoninus, the metamorphosis is not that of the dead or dying figure, and no *aition*, cultic or otherwise, is specified, even though either a cult statue or a proverb does in fact seem to lie behind the tale.[38] This rendition thus stands out from the others in the *Metamorphoses*. Should this be owing to the style of Hermesianax's account, then it gives evidence of a far more light-handed and erotic approach than is apparent from the stories of the catalogue. The amount of detail here, at least, could certainly not have been compressed into a segment of six verses.

The catalogue itself creates in various ways spurious subjective elements for the poetry of all the non-mythological poets. One group of these are the poets whose works never had any such dimension, like Hesiod, Homer, Sophocles and Euripides. These passages may be read as a reflection on the tendency of biographers to read poets' output autobiographically.[39] The entertainment value of a parody depends in part upon the degree of distortion employed. Complete fabrications may be absurd, but they are not nearly so effective as the misapplication and distortion of known facts. Thus, Homer is shown as being in love with the lonely, sympathetically portrayed woman of his poetry, whose husband is far from home. Hesiod does not mention amatory affairs in the personal parts of his poetry, and in the *Catalogue of Women* the heroines are too many, and too integrated into a partnership with a spouse or a match with a god, to be suitable candidates for the poet's love; besides, repeating the tactic used with Homer would hardly be witty. Instead, 'Ehoie' is plucked out. Hesiod is in love with 'Or another woman such as' – Anne Other. This cannot be the result of ignorance on Hermesianax's part: as several scholars have observed, he was a pupil of the learned Philitas, and is highly unlikely to have made such a remark in error.[40] The superimposition of this 'love story' upon Hesiod's

[38] See Celoria 1992: 214–15; cf. Ovid, *Met.* 14.759–61.
[39] Bing 1993: 624–31.
[40] Cf. Bing 1993: 630; Butrica 1996: 321 n. 58. See Schwartz 1960: 614 and West 1985a: 22 for knowledge of and debates about the *Catalogue* in Hellenistic times.

dislike of Ascra even turns the economic and agricultural basis for the misery there into erotic suffering.[41]

The genuinely erotic poets Sappho, Anacreon, and Alcaeus are subjected to a different treatment: the targets of their affection are wilfully distorted (vv. 47–56). Attempts to create tales of love affairs between these poets seem to have been notorious,[42] and Bing has raised the likelihood of their misrepresentation here being a satire upon the biographer Chamaeleon.[43] Philoxenus' *Cyclops* (7.69–74) similarly was a work subject to allegorical readings, and Bing suggests that Hermesianax's treatment of it is again satirical.[44] Here, however, is a case of a poem that may have genuinely been a court allegory, although not all the stories about the circumstances of its composition are likely to be true.[45] According to the testimonia, 'Galateia' was mistress to Dionysius of Syracuse, and Philoxenus fell into disfavour for being too close to her. In his dithyramb, the Cyclops was supposed to be identified with Dionysius, 'Galateia' with his mistress, and Odysseus with the poet.[46] Hermesianax now instead casts Philoxenus as the Cyclops, spurned by Galateia. As the Cyclops' song is typically naive and rather grotesque, this transference of characteristics appears a mocking disparagement of Philoxenus' poetry.

For those segments, at least, it seems clear that Hermesianax was writing tongue-in-cheek. The catalogue may have had a preface that made its parodic nature plain, or it may have been placed in the mouth of an inset character: it could be the speech of a comically ignorant pedant trying to woo his woman through a display of learning, a parody of a catalogue poem, or a fool's lecture used in addition as a parody.[47] It does not seem likely that it bore a close resemblance to the rest of the *Leontion*, any more than the speech of Pythagoras does to the rest of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. No scholar would use it as evidence for the nature of Homer's *Odyssey*. For Philetas, Antimachus and Mimnermus, however, a number of critics treat the piece as if it provided sound evidence.[48] It is these poets, too, that provide the main thread of evidence for 'subjective', non-Hesiodic, catalogue poetry.

The fragments attributed to Mimnermus' *Nanno* are very similar to those that are not, and include apparently subjective, historical, and mythological

[41] Hermesianax here reworks *Works and Days* 639–40, cf. Bing 1993: 630; Hunter (this volume) 262.
[42] Cameron 1995: 318. [43] Bing 1993: 625–7. [44] Bing 1993: 628–9. [45] See Sutton 1983.
[46] Athenaeus 1.6e–7a; Aelian *V.H.* 12.44; Schl. Ven. on Aristophanes' *Plutus* 290ff.
[47] Cf. Butrica 1996: 321 n. 58, Hinds 1999: 137.
[48] Cf. Cairns 1979: 217, 'It is undeniable that Hermesianax believed Mimnermus had loved a girl called Nanno, and had written verses against his enemies Hermobios and Pherecles', Hinds 1999: 130.

material; 'Nanno' never appears, and only one fragment could be personal (fr. 8 Allen), a call for truth in a relationship. It is not impossible that all the fragments were sympotic in origin.[49] The details of Hermesianax's portrait which create a symposiastic picture – girl, λωτός (flute), κῶμοι (wild parties) with Examyas, feuds – might arouse suspicion that they were culled from sympotic poetry in the first place. How else could the names of Mimnermus' supposed friends and enemies have survived the lapse of time? Pseudo-facts may here have been plucked from a variety of pieces and subjected to an unquantifiable amount of distortion. There may well have been some erotic material in Mimnermus' work, but it is impossible to tell how dominant a role it played. There is also no evidence that the *Nanno* bore much resemblance to Hellenistic catalogue-poetry.

Of all *Kollektivgedichte*, the *Lyde* is the poem most often claimed to be 'subjective'. The fact that Antimachus is paired with Mimnermus, both by Hermesianax (who breaches his chronology to do so) and in an epigram of Poseidippus, has led scholars to suggest that Antimachus presented the *Lyde* as a successor to the *Nanno*, stressing Mimnermus' Colophonian origin and perhaps remodelling his work to make it appear more like his own.[50] What is known of the *Lyde*'s subject-matter, however, seems to bear little resemblance to the *Nanno*. It is therefore perhaps noteworthy that in Poseidippus' epigram it is Mimnermus who is φιλεράστης, whereas Antimachus is desired for his self-control, something that might indicate that his work contained more learned information concerning affairs than personal erotic material:

> Ναννοῦς καὶ Λύδης ἐπίχει δύο καὶ φιλεράστου
> Μιμνέρμου καὶ τοῦ σώφρονος Ἀντιμάχου
> Poseidippus 140.1–2 AB = *AP* 12.168.1–2

Pour out two measures: the *Nanno* and *Lyde* of Mimnermus, fond of lovers, and temperate Antimachus;

A later account of the *Lyde* appears to have been strongly influenced by Hermesianax:

For because his wife Lyde was dead, towards whom he had been highly affectionate, he wrote the elegiac *Lyde* as a consolation for his grief, enumerating heroic disasters, and he made his own grief less through the ills of others. ([Plutarch] *Cons. ad Ap.* 106b)

[49] Bowie 1986: 13–35; Allen 1993: 20. [50] West 1974: 75–6; Krevans 1993: 151; Cameron 1995: 312.

Λύδης δ' Ἀντίμαχος Λυδηίδος ἐκ μὲν ἔρωτος
πληγεὶς Πακτωλοῦ ῥεῦμ' ἐπέβη ποταμοῦ·
†δαρδανη δὲ θανοῦσαν ὑπὸ ξηρὴν θέτο γαῖαν
κλαίων, ἀιζαον† δ' ἦλθεν ἀποπρολιπὼν
ἄκρην ἐς Κολοφῶνα, γόων δ' ἐνεπλήσατο βίβλους
ἱράς, ἐκ παντὸς παυσάμενος καμάτου.
Hermesianax fr. 7.41–6 Powell

And Antimachus, thunder-struck from his love of Lydian Lyde went up to the streams of the Pactolus river; . . . but when she died, weeping he laid her in the dry earth, and . . . leaving that place went wailing to the citadel of Colophon, and filled up pious books of laments, ceasing from all his distress.

The tales attributed to the *Lyde* are heroic; there was a substantial Argonautic narrative (frr. 55–65 W.), along with tales of Oedipus (fr. 70), Bellerophon (frr. 68–9) and Adonis (fr. 102), and also others less certainly ascribed. For any joke in Hermesianax's comments to work, there must nonetheless have been some material in the *Lyde* that could have been twisted into books of consolatory groaning. It is possible that this was an introductory epigram or frame, but then Hermesianax would have strayed rather close to the truth. There could alternatively have been a story involving the disastrous love of a Lydian woman, taken out of its context and deliberately misapplied to Antimachus himself. One further possibility is suggested by the verse Πακτωλοῦ χρυσέοισιν ἐπ' ἀνδήροισι θάασσον – 'I [or 'they'] sat on the golden banks of the Pactolus' (*SH* 79 = Antimachus fr. 93 Matthews). This line has been attributed to both Callimachus and Antimachus:[51] those who assign it to the latter tend to suggest that it belonged to the *Lyde*'s putative subjective frame.[52] Both the case for the existence of such a frame and that for the authorship of the fragment depend upon the Hermesianax passage, and the argument risks circularity; Hermesianax may instead have inserted Antimachus into one of his own stories.

Antimachus was writing too early to be affected by the Hellenistic preference for non-heroic myth. In aligning his work with the *Nanno*, he claimed a precedent for an assemblage of shorter mythological narratives. The *Leontion* seems to have more overlap with the *Nanno* than the *Lyde* – Hermesianax gives a Hellenistic slant to the combination of myth, history and erotic material by presenting in his first two books an eroticisation of myth and a fantasisation of history. The *Lyde* and *Leontion* are often classed

[51] See Matthews 1996: 258. For the line as a verbal allusion by Hermesianax, see Hollis 1996: 58.
[52] See esp. West 1974: 169–70.

together because of their titles: Hermesianax may indeed have intended an allusion in this way. The *Lyde* drew on the Colophonian *Nanno*; the *Leontion* is to bring Colophonian poetry up to date, and, in particular, to refer it to Hesiodic poetry.

Hermesianax's lines on Philitas, the last of his poets, are the hardest to interpret:

οἶσθα δὲ καὶ τὸν ἀοιδόν, ὃν Εὐρυπύλου πολιῆται
Κῶιοι χάλκειον θῆκαν ὑπὸ πλατάνωι
Βιττίδα μολπάζοντα θοήν, περὶ πάντα Φιλίταν
ῥήματα καὶ πᾶσαν τρυόμενον λαλιήν.
Hermesianax fr. 7.75–8

And also you know the bard, whom the Coan citizens of Eurypylus set in bronze beneath a plane tree, singing of flighty Bittis; Philetas, who wore himself out about all manner of words, and all manner of glosses.
OR And also you know that the bard whom the Coan citizens of Eurypylus set in bronze beneath a plane tree sang about flighty Bittis, Philetas, who wore himself out over every word and every sort of babbling.

Hermesianax's wording allows for a statue depicting Philitas singing, or one that depicted Philitas, who used to sing about 'Bittis', or who sang the *Bittis*.[53] It is not even certain whether the word refers to a woman, or a poem, or both.[54] Kuchenmüller questioned the existence of 'Bittis', pointing to the potential wordplay of βαττίς (stutterer) as equivalent to the γλῶσσαι (obscure words) – already dubbed λαλιά (speech / babbling) – that Philitas studied.[55] Such a pun would indeed be very characteristic of Hermesianax. The scholar's prose output – two books of Homeric glosses – is transformed into the mistress of erotic elegy. An alternative allusive play has been seen by Gallavotti, who points to the similarity to Hermesianax's description of a corrupt fragment of Philitas preserved by Athenaeus: †θρήσασθαι πλατάνωι γαίηι ὕπο, 'to lament beneath this (?) plane tree'. (Athen. 5.192e = fr. 14 Powell).[56] Should this be an allusion by Hermesianax to the

[53] For this ambiguity, see Latacz 1985: 86–8; see also Hardie 1997: 24–5. Most scholars reject the idea that Philitas was portrayed as singing (e.g. Hardie 1997: 24–5; Spanoudakis 2002: 35). A Poseidippus epigram is evidence that a statue of Philetas existed (63 AB), but this need not be the one described by Hermesianax, cf. Hardie 2003. Hardie 1997: 25–6 questions how Hermesianax's addressee would know that Philitas was singing, or the one who sang of Bittis, and answers this by supposing an inscription or statue epigram. But if the existence of 'Bittis' is no more than a joke, Hermesianax's 'you know the poet who sang Bittis' need reflect the addressee's knowledge no more than does 'Alcaeus of Lesbos is known to you . . .'.

[54] Cf. Latacz 1985: 85; Kuchenmüller 1928: 26–7.

[55] Kuchenmüller 1928: 26–7. Ovid uses the form 'Battis' instead of 'Bittis' (*Trist.* 1.6.2; *Ep. Pont.* 3.1.58).

[56] Gallavotti 1932: 235–6. Spanoudakis 2002: 155–8 believes that the lines describe a cult on Cos; Cameron 1995: 316 for his part is in no doubt that this is the very plane tree under which Hermesianax

text of the *Bittis*, then, in a manner that might be parallel to his possible treatment of Antimachus, he would be making the statue appear to portray an incident from Philitas' own poetry. The only other evidence for 'Bittis' is two allusions by Ovid that pair Philitas and Bittis and Antimachus and Lyde as examples of loving relationships.[57] Ovid also, however, claims Callimachus as an erotic poet; Propertius in all his comments on Philitas never suggests a personal element.[58] If 'Bittis' did appear, she may have been mentioned in epigrams or Philitas' παίγνια;[59] these would indeed have been sufficient for Hermesianax's claims.[60]

In sum, the extent to which Hermesianax indulges in allusive play makes it very difficult to use him as firm evidence for the content or subjectivity of any poem. There seems, however, to be little in favour of the existence of a body of personal, non-Hesiodic, catalogue poetry. The other evidence that has been put forward comprises four fragmentary papyri dating from the second century AD.[61] Butrica attempts to assign these to the Hellenistic period,[62] although Morelli in particular has put forward arguments for the later date based on metrical usage, verbal formations, and motifs shared with imperial epigram.[63] These elegies use series of very briefly told (two to six verses) mythological exempla applied to a personal, apparently 'subjective' appeal by the poet. Butrica has suggested that this could be a parallel for the usage of myth by Phanocles,[64] but the immense difference of scale makes this appear to me unlikely. Phanocles' Orpheus segment has too great a degree of closure, and develops themes in a way not at all similar to the use of myth in strings of exempla. The quasi-didactic nature of the work of Nicander and Boios, moreover, coupled with the strongly aetiological nature of their tales, demonstrates that stories assigned to catalogue elegy were not simply exempla, and that they could be integrated into a continuous poem.

The evidence that Hellenistic catalogue poetry might have had a personal basis varies from poem to poem: for Phanocles, there is no evidence; for

depicted Philitas singing. Cf. also Alfonsi 1943: 164; Hollis 1996: 58; Hardie 1997: 32 on Hermesianax's mode of allusion.

[57] Ov. *Trist.* 1.6.1–4; *Ep. Pont.* 3.1.58.

[58] See Spanoudakis 2002: 31–3. It has been suggested that the poetry of Antimachus and Philitas was hard to obtain by the time of the late Republic, and that Ovid was influenced by Hermesianax's comments. Del Corno 1962: 73–5; Boucher 1965: 207; Serrao 1979: 92; Puelma 1982: 225; Hose 1994: 81; Matthews 1996: 65; Hinds 1999: 136; Spanoudakis 2002: 34.

[59] See Spanoudakis 2002: 31–3.

[60] Alfonsi 1943: 162–3 suggests that for such a pun to have a point, a real woman must have existed.

[61] POxy 2884 fr. 2, 2885 fr. 1 ed. Lobel 1972; POxy 3723 ed. Parsons and Bremmer 1987. Parsons 1988, Hose 1994, Morelli 1994, and Butrica 1996 reach very different conclusions; the latter three were unable to take each other's work into account.

[62] Butrica 1996: 297, 306. [63] Morelli 1994: 386–8. [64] Butrica 1996: 303, 313–14.

the *Leontion*, there is only the parallel drawn with the *Lyde*; for the *Lyde*, there is the mischievous vignette in the *Leontion* and other, equally dubious testimonia; *Bittis* may never have existed. To be set against this uncertainty is the clearly expressed generic affiliation of the catalogue poems to the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*. The redevelopment of the form in line with the Hellenistic taste for aetiological material and non-heroic characters could, perhaps, be compared to how Callimachus adapted the form of the Homeric *Hymns*, or even how Apollonius changed epic.[65]

[65] This paper has its origin in a response to an earlier version of Richard Hunter's contribution to this volume. I am grateful to him for the opportunity of publishing it here.

CHAPTER 12

The Hesiodic Catalogue of Women *and Latin poetry*

Philip Hardie

COSMIC HISTORIES

Interest in the presence of Hesiod in Latin poetry has tended to focus first on what has been claimed as an Alexandrian – Callimachean and Aratean – image of Hesiod as an alternative model and authority to Homer,[1] and secondly on the more direct use of the two Hesiodic works that survive in their entirety, the *Theogony* and the *Works and Days*. Depending on the focus, different images of Hesiod emerge. The 'Alexandrian Hesiod' licenses, it is suggested, a poetic practice defined as 'not Homer', characterised by a generically less elevated ambition and by a self-consciousness about the choices involved in a poetic career. A more direct recourse to the two Hesiodic works that survive today, paradoxically perhaps, encourages a seriousness of purpose and a socially and politically committed poetic voice, deriving primarily from the *persona* of the *Works and Days*, and a sublimity of subject-matter deriving primarily from the grand subject-matter of the *Theogony*, that both pull away from the ironic self-deprecation of the 'Alexandrian Hesiod'. The diversity of the Hesiodic *œuvre*, and of the receptions of that *œuvre*, creates a space within which late Republican and Augustan poetry can trace its own paths over the slopes of Helicon. The *Georgics* in particular, as a self-consciously *Ascraeum carmen* (2.176), creatively exploits these different Hesiods: Callimachean and Aratean in its self-positioning use of the symbolic, Alexandrian 'Hesiod', as well as in its scholarly engagement with the detail of the Hesiodic text, but at the same time developing out of the earnest and mantic voice of the poet of the *Works*

[1] Importance of Hesiod for Augustan poets: Clausen 1964: 184–5; Farrell 1991: 31, 315; the Alexandrian Hesiod figures prominently in the Gallan reconstructions of Ross 1975, with particular reference to *Eclogue* 6 and Propertius 2.10 and 2.13: see his index *s.v.* 'Hesiod'. On the significance of Hesiod for Alexandrian poets, see the revisionist arguments (with implications for Latin poetry) of Cameron 1995: Chapter 13. On the wider history of the influence of Hesiod on Latin literature, see Schwartz 1960: 598–603; on Lucretius and Hesiod, see Gale 1994, index *s.v.* 'Hesiod'; Arrighetti 1997: 31–2 on Hesiodic allusion in the invocation to Calliope at Lucr. 6.92–5.

and Days a model for the Augustan *uates*.[2] In the *Aeneid*, the sublimity of the wars in heaven in the *Theogony* inspires the allegorical gigantomachies that legitimate the rule of Augustus.[3] The overall pattern of the *Aeneid* also bears a general, and perhaps not coincidental, analogy to the plot of the *Theogony*: an aetiology and justification of the present-day world order through a historical narrative that punctuates the generational continuity of a family tree with the discontinuous violence of succession myths (the overthrow of Ouranos and Cronus/the violent replacement of one city by another, Troy, Alba Longa, Rome).

What of the Hesiodic *Catalogue*? If for the Hellenistic poets it was 'always very much third of [the big Hesiodic] three',[4] is it yet further marginalised in the reception of Hesiod in Latin poetry? An obvious place to start to answer this question is a poem that has been central to discussions of the place of the symbolic, Alexandrian Hesiod in Latin literary history, *Eclogue* 6, a poem which builds up to the scene of Gallus wandering in a Hesiodic–Callimachean poetic landscape, and in which he is presented with the pipes formerly given by the Muses to the *Ascraeus senex* (70). For David Ross the complex literary genealogy here adumbrated points to an Orphic–Hesiodic tradition of 'scientific poetry', which Ross would posit as a defining feature of Gallan elegy. Whatever the likelihood of this (and we shall return to the issue of Gallus and Hesiod), if we turn these Hesiodic signals back to reflect on the main body of the Song of Silenus, we find (as has often been pointed out) a sequence of cosmogony, early history of the world, and a catalogue of myths on largely erotic subjects whose general pattern coincides with the sequence of *Theogony* followed by *Catalogue*. Joe Farrell has recently argued that the degree of coincidence between the ordering of stories in [Apollodorus] *Bibliotheca*, *Eclogue* 6, and Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (for which *Eclogue* 6 has often been seen as some kind of 'blueprint')[5] points to the model for all three works of *Theogony* plus *Catalogue*.[6] There is perhaps further Hesiodic point in the stories referred to briefly (and with conspicuous disregard for chronology) in lines 41–2 *hinc lapides Pyrrhae iactos, Saturnia regna, | Caucasiasque refert uolucris*

[2] Farrell 1991: 28–33 'Two Hesiods'; 32 'with regard to the *Georgics* in particular, there is now great support for the view that the phrase *Ascraeum carmen* refers, no less and perhaps more than to the poet of *Works and Days*, to Hesiod, the ideal poet as conceived by Callimachus along with his Alexandrian and Neoteric followers.' As a general survey of the influence of Hesiod on Virgil, La Penna 1962 has not been replaced.

[3] Hardie 1986: 95–6 on meteorological allegorisations of the battles with the Titans and Typhoeus as a possible source for the gigantomachic storm in *Aeneid* 1.

[4] Hunter (this volume) p. 241. [5] See Knox 1986: 10–14.

[6] Farrell forthcoming, 'Appendix 2: Vergil's *Sixth Eclogue* and the *Metamorphoses*', floating the possibility of some kind of Gallan involvement in the use by Latin poets of the *Catalogue*.

furtumque Promethei. These three may be selected in order to allude to the three Hesiodic histories of early man: the creation of a new race of men from the stones thrown by Deucalion and Pyrrha featured in the *Catalogue* (fr. 234)[7], while Cronus (Saturn) rules over the first, golden, race of men in the *Works and Days* (109–11), and Prometheus' theft of fire is narrated in both the *Theogony* and *Works and Days*.[8]

If the *Catalogue* is at least a structuring principle for *Eclogue* 6, its indirect and perhaps direct presence may be traced in *Eclogue* 4, which pairs itself within the *Eclogues* book with the sixth poem as the other synoptic sketch of a universal history. The fourth *Eclogue* bases itself on the Hesiodic myth of races from *Works and Days*, and v. 4 *Cumaei . . . carminis* will allude to the birthplace, Cyme, of Hesiod's father, as well as to the Cumaean Sibyl.[9] The poem can also be read as a detailed engagement with and inversion of Catullus 64.[10] Filippomaria Pontani has pointed out that that poem's binary opposition between an age of theoxeny (in the sense of a time when gods and men routinely mingled) and an age of separation between gods and mortals finds its only true precedent in the Hesiodic *Catalogue*, which, like Catullus 64, both insists on theoxeny as the main feature of the age of heroes, and also makes the Trojan War the end of the age of theoxeny.[11] The *Catalogue* opened with reference to the shared banquets and seats of immortals and mortals, as a way of explaining the frequency with which mortal women lay with gods (fr. 1.5–7 μισγόμεναι θεοῖσιν . . . ξυναὶ γὰρ τότε δαῖτες ἔσαν, ξυνοὶ δὲ θόωκοι | ἀθανάτοις τε θεοῖσι καταθνητοῖς τ' ἀνθρώποις), and its closing sequence probably told of the separation of gods and men (fr. 204.102–3).[12] Pontani notes that Catullus 64 also has a ring-composition extending from the happy race of heroes at the time when Peleus wed the goddess Thetis (22–30) to the departure of the gods from the earth (384–408).[13] The body of *Eclogue* 4 is framed between two statements of the shared life of heroes and gods, the first time as a prophecy

[7] One might guess that the story had already been told near the beginning of the *Catalogue*, with the appearance of Deucalion in fr. 2–4.

[8] Compare the multiple accounts of the origins of mankind in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (either from a divine seed or from Prometheus' clay, 1.82–8; from the blood of the Giants, 1.159–62; from the stones cast by Deucalion and Pyrrha, 1.395–415): see Wheeler 2000: 33–5.

[9] The suggestion goes back to Probus, but modern commentaries are reluctant to recognise this: nothing in Clausen, and for Coleman 'such a recondite use of the epithet is implausible'; Radke 1959 argues that the allusion is solely to Hesiod.

[10] Williams 1968: 281–3; Du Quesnay 1977: 68–75, with 97 n. 267 for earlier discussions.

[11] Pontani 2000.

[12] On the disputed interpretation of these lines, see Pontani 2000: 272–3.

[13] With the catalogue of gods who formerly visited earth at Cat. 64.387–96 (Jupiter, Bacchus, Mars, Minerva, Diana) cf. perhaps the list of gods who lay with mortal women at *Catalogue* fr. 1.15–22 (preserved are the names of Zeus, Poseidon, Ares, Hermes, ?Heracles).

of the future experience of the boy (15–16 *ille deum uitam accipiet diuisque uidebit | permixtos heroas et ipse uidebitur illis*, corresponding to the general intercourse of gods and men described at the end of Catullus 64, 384–6), and the second time as an injunction to the boy himself to ensure with his smile that he be worthy of the table of the god and the bed of the goddess (63 *nec deus hunc mensa, dea nec dignata cubili est*, matching the coupling of the individual hero Peleus with the goddess Thetis at the beginning of Catullus 64, 28–9).[14]

Eclogue 4 thus combines reference to the Hesiodic myth of races in the *Works and Days*, with allusion to the Catullan use, at least, of the *Catalogue*.[15] As in Catullus 64 (and the *Catalogue*), the Trojan War is the boundary between two ages, but here in reverse, and with the difference that after the second Trojan War there will not be a reversion to the age of heroes privileged to mix with gods that ends, in both the *Catalogue* and Catullus 64, with the first Trojan War, but a reversion to the golden age, in which heroes will mingle with gods.

The *Cumaeum carmen* of *Eclogue* 4 and *Eclogue* 6 may therefore each incorporate allusion both to the *Catalogue* and to one of the surviving Hesiodic poems. What of Virgil's *Ascraeum carmen*, the *Georgics*? In the fourth book, the agricultural didactic modulates into a narrative in which have been seen elements of (Gallan) elegy and Homeric epic, signs of a generic instability and transitionality that mark the poet's readiness to leave the world of the farmer: *sed tempus lustrare aliis Helicona choreis*. But Hesiod is not so lightly left behind. The 'hero' of the epyllion, Aristaeus, is himself the product of a liaison narrated in the *Catalogue* (frr. 215–17), and in his initial complaint to his mother Cyrene, he draws her attention to the story of his birth in a way that may contain a 'marker of allusion' to earlier versions, Pindaric, Apollonian, and originally Hesiodic: *Geo*. 4.323 *si modo, quem perhibes, pater est Thymbraeus Apollo*. This is followed by a catalogue of Nymphs of a kind both Homeric and Hesiodic, if coinciding in detail with neither of those sources; the Nymphs act as the audience for songs which also parade their combined Homeric and Hesiodic origins, 345–7 *inter quas curam Clymene narrabat inanem | Volcani, Martisque dolos et dulcia furta, | aque Chao densos diuum numerabat amores*. But the Song of Demodocus on Vulcan, Mars, and Venus is diverted from its Odyssean context to become just one in a long Hesiodic catalogue of 'the loves of gods', a phrase general enough to accommodate the couplings of both

[14] But also with an echo of Cat. 64.407–8 *nec . . . dignantur . . . nec* (Clausen ad loc.).
[15] For combined allusion to the *Works and Days* and the *Catalogue* in Aratus, see Fakas 2001: 153–4.

the *Theogony* and the *Works and Days*,[16] and which in its temporal span (from the beginnings of the world down to the present day, since it will cover the procreation of Aristaeus) matches that of the Song of Silenus.[17] Aristaeus is received into this Homeric–Hesiodic world in a line that is itself shared between the two Greek models, 361 *curuata in montis faciem circumstetit unda*, a close adaptation of *Od.* 11.243 πορφύρεον δ' ἄρα κῦμα περιστάθη, οὔρεϊ ἶσον (Tyro, in the catalogue of heroines in the Nekyia), and, according to the Berne Scholia, a line that was also in the Hesiodic *Catalogue* (fr. 32).

Is this where the Hesiodic trail peters out? Let me hazard a few further steps. A strong sense of historical process and of the long span of time informs the *Georgics*, from the moment that the opening invocation to Octavian as a saviour god for the present day is followed shortly by the dating of the eternal laws of nature to the creation of mankind by Deucalion, 1.61–3 *quo tempore primum | Deucalion uacuum lapides iactauit in orbem*, | *unde homines nati, durum genus*, a version of the creation of mankind that goes back to the *Catalogue*.[18] The story of Aristaeus is often read as alluding to a major turning-point in history, the restoration of Roman society by Octavian after the ravages of civil war, and it would not surprise if the story was overlaid with further mythical patterns of temporality.

At the end of the *Catalogue*, the further generation of children from gods and mortal women comes to a halt with the Trojan War, itself brought about by Zeus in order to depopulate the earth (fr. 204.98–9), the same motive for the war as in the *Cypria*.[19] In the 'astonishing'[20] last surviving part of fr. 204 of the *Catalogue*, the coming of the Trojan War is synchronised with fundamental changes in the human and natural worlds, including fierce north winds bringing down leaves and fruit from the trees and wasting the crops in the springtime (124–8), the destruction of the world of the *Works and Days*, followed by a passage on the life cycle of the snake. Martin West muses on the possible meaning of this: 'is there some significant analogy to be discerned between the fierce snake . . . which is laid low by the power of Zeus, its soul retreating into a subterranean chamber to reappear in a

[16] Hardie 1986: 83–4.

[17] For the parallel with the Song of Silenus, see Jachmann 1923: 296. With *Geo.* 4.347–8 *diuum numerabat amores.* | *carmine quo captae* cf. *Ecl.* 6.9–10 *si quis tamen haec quoque, si quis* | *captus amore leget*, where *haec* will include the content of the present poem, including the Song of Silenus.

[18] The Hesiodic myth is overlaid with strongly Lucretian language, as Virgil remythologises Lucretius: see Gale 2000: 117. For the story of Deucalion, cf. also Pindar *Ol.* 9.43–6; Callim. *SH* 295 (= frr. 496 + 533 Pf.).

[19] See Matthiessen 1977: 182–3; for a characterisation of the 'age of heroes' in the *Catalogue*, see Thalmann 1984: 99–106.

[20] West 1985a: 119.

younger body after a certain interval of latency . . .? They are not really dead, they live on in the Isles of the Blessed Ones . . . Will their spirit, after centuries of waiting, manifest itself again in their descendants? Does the poet of the *Catalogue* anticipate a new heroic age – [and West then quotes *Eclogue* 4.34–6!] . . . and is the hibernating and sloughing snake his symbol of this regeneration?'[21]

In *Georgics* 4, Clymene's catalogue of divine *amours* is followed by the revelation of a story of love that leads to no new generation (Eurydice is snatched from Orpheus, who henceforth will have nothing to do with marriage), but this in turn is followed by the miraculous (non-sexual) regeneration of the bees. Disaster in the world of the farmer (note that Aristaeus is not just a bee-keeper, and that he calls down destruction on the whole world of the *Georgics* in his petulant complaint to his mother at 326–32) is followed by miraculous generation in the animal world of a kind that is symbolic of (a hoped-for) regeneration in the world of human history.[22]

If there is anything in this, we may note one final parallelism between *Eclogue* 4 and *Georgics* 4: in both texts, extensive allusion to Catullus 64, and inversion of the Catullan trajectory of decline, is combined with allusion to the *Catalogue*.[23]

CATALOGUES AND *CATALOGUE*

The line that leads from Catullus 64 to *Eclogue* 4 and, possibly, *Georgics* 4 plots the *Catalogue*'s scheme of history on to a Roman 'myth of ages' that attempts to contain and reverse the social and political instability of the late Republic. Another line will take us to a different world and a different application of Hesiodic myths of ages. Catullus' picture of the abandoned Ariadne is the starting-point for the programmatic mini-catalogue of mythical women at the beginning of Propertius 1.3, *qualis Thesea iacuit cedente carina* | *languida desertis Cnosia litoribus*.[24] The repeated *qualis* (varied the

[21] West 1985a: 120 (with the fuller discussion in West 1961: 134–6); see also Koenen 1994: 31–3.

[22] One might also speculate on the relevance within a narrative of a cycle of destruction and rebirth of the regenerated snake simile at *Aen.* 2.471–5.

[23] On the importance of Catullus 64 for the Aristaeus epyllion, see Crabbe 1977.

[24] Combining elements of the two descriptions of Ariadne that frame the Catullan ekphrasis, Cat. 64.52–3 *namque fluentisono prospectans litore Diae* | *Thesea cedentem celeri cum classe tuetur*, 249 *quae tum prospectans cedentem maesta carinam*. Cat. 64.249 is preceded by a *qualis*, 247–8 *qualem Minoidi luctum* | *obtulerat mente immemori, talem ipse recepit*, fulfilling Ariadne's curse at 200–1 *sed quali solam Theseus me mente reliquit*, | *tali mente, deae, funestet seque suosque*. Cynthia utters a similar wish to Propertius, 1.3.39–40 *o utinam talis perducas, improbe, noctes*, | *me miseram qualis semper*

third time by *nec minus*) introduced by this *exemplum* is the Latin equivalent of the Hesiodic ἢ οἵη formula. While the formula was *not* the main structuring principle of the *Catalogue*, but probably rather a device for the resumption of a collateral branch of a family,[25] it lent itself as a title for the *Catalogue*, and it, or 'sub-Hesiodic' variants such as ἢ ὡς, came to function as a Hesiodic marker in the Hellenistic 'catalogue poems' discussed by Richard Hunter and Helen Asquith in this volume. Propertius then, like Virgil in *Eclogue* 4 (and perhaps *Georgics* 4), seems to practise 'double allusion', both to Catullus 64 and to (a flattened version of) the *Catalogue*.

This vision of the sleeping Cynthia as Ariadne, as Andromeda, as an exhausted Maenad, offers Propertius and his readers a dream of beautiful women, imaginary access to another age, the *formosi temporis aetas* (Prop. 1.4.7), a phrase that may contain further allusion to Catullus 64, where the scene of the reciprocal gaze of sea-nymphs on seafaring mortals and of mortals on nymphs, leading to Peleus' love at first sight for Thetis and to Thetis and Jupiter's instant approval of her wedding with a mortal, is followed by the *makarismos* of the blessed age when mortal heroes could hope for union with the likes of Thetis, 22–3 *o nimis optato saeclorum tempore nati | heroes . . .*[26] Pierre Boyancé speaks of Propertius' 'conception systématique . . . d'un monde des héroines mythiques';[27] this 'world', that may owe something of its cohesion, directly or indirectly, to the *Catalogue*'s conception of a privileged age that came to an end, is first conjured up in poems 2 and 3 of the first book, in both cases with brief lists introduced by '(not) just as'.[28] The transient vision of Cynthia introduced by the threefold *qualis* in 1.3 has been preceded in 1.2 by an attempt to mould the thoroughly modern Cynthia in the likeness of chaste heroines of myth (the Leucippides, Marpessa, Hippodameia[29]), listed in three couplets introduced by *non sic . . . non . . . nec . . .* (the equivalent of *non qualis*). This listing habit then continues into 1. 4, where however it is now Bassus who tries to make

habere iubes! Is this a foundational moment for the experience of the Propertian elegist, hinting at the transference on to the male elegist of the passive suffering of a female heroine? Cf. 1.1.1 *miserum me*. Virgil will make different foundational use of Ariadne's curse.

[25] West 1985a: 39; Rutherford 2000: 83–5.

[26] The periphrasis *saeclorum tempore* is varied in Propertius' *temporis aetas* (Fordyce also compares Tib. 1.8.47 *primi . . . temporis aetas*). The Catullan allusion is noted by Boyancé 1956: 186; the Catullan *makarismos* may be compared to *Catalogue* fr. 211.7 (wedding of Peleus and Thetis) τρὶς μάκαρ Αἰακίδη καὶ τετράκις ὄλβιε Πηλεῦ: see Pontani 2000: 270–1.

[27] Boyancé 1956: 187–8.

[28] Stephen Heyworth conjectures *aut ut* (ἢ ὡς) at Prop. 2.2.7 (a list of three goddesses compared to Cynthia) (personal communication).

[29] Marpessa married Idas, cousin to the Leucippides (West 1985a: 67–8): might their stories have been close to one another in the *Catalogue*?

Propertius leave Cynthia (1) *tam multas laudando . . . puellas*, presumably real girls in Rome. Propertius replies with an *a fortiori* demonstration of his constancy by raising the stakes to a catalogue of mythological women, the complete cast of the *formosi temporis aetas*, who would pale in comparison with Cynthia (5–8).[30]

Propertius reverts to the favourable comparison between Cynthia and a catalogue of legendary women in 1.19, the last of the elegies about Cynthia in the *Monobiblos* and which through its thoughts of death also has a closural quality. Allusion to a troupe of beautiful women from the past thus makes a ring with the use of the catalogue-of-women features that introduce us to Cynthia in poems 2–4. In 1.19, however, the catalogue is specifically of Trojan women, 13–14 *illic formosae ueniant chorus heroinae, | quas dedit Argiuis Dardana praeda uiris*, perhaps because *illic* continues from the previous *exemplum* (7, 11 *illic*) of the Greek hero at Troy, Protesilaus, who was proverbial for his fidelity to a single woman, his wife, unlike those of his companions who survived to the sack of Troy to take their pick of the captured Trojan women.

The Underworld is the only place where a poet of the modern world, or his *puella*, can hope, or fear, to come into the actual presence of legendary women, in the post-mortem footsteps of Odysseus in *Odyssey* 11. In 2.28 Cynthia lies ill. At 17–24, Propertius lists four heroines in as many couplets, each of which begins with the name of the woman (*Io . . . Ino . . . Andromede . . . Callisto . . .*), exempla of suffering followed by salvation. But if Cynthia is to die, and so not to add her name to this catalogue of women saved, the poet imagines her inclusion in a catalogue of heroines in the Underworld, 29–30 *et tibi Maeonias omnis heroidas inter | primus erit nulla non tribuente locus*, a couplet that Ovid will turn to his own ends (see below). Later in the poem, the poet prays that one beautiful girl at least should be spared for the world above and not added to the thousands of *formosae* in the Underworld, a catalogue that is now extended from the crowds of Greek beauties to (55) *quaecumque erat in numero Romana puella*. Propertius exploits the open-endedness of the catalogue form to embrace the Roman in a manner generally comparable to Virgil's extension of the Hesiodic catalogue form *ad mea tempora* in *Eclogue* 6, and to Ovid's extension of an ultimately Hesiodic mythography in the *Metamorphoses* to include the Roman material of Books 14 and 15.[31]

[30] On the generally encomiastic nature of the *Catalogue*, see Rutherford 2000: 86; Dio Prus. 2.13ff. (M–W 1967 testim.) αὐτὸς ἐποίησε γυναικῶν κατάλογον, καὶ τῶι ὄντι τὴν γυναικωνῖτιν ὕμνησε, παραχωρήσας Ὁμήρωι τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐπαινέσαι. In general, on Propertius' use of myth to conjure up a glamorous age in the past, see Lyne 1980: 82–102.

[31] Alfonsi 1949 suggests that Prop. 2.3.51–4 draws directly on fr. 37 of the *Catalogue* for its version of the story of Melampous and Bias and Pero; he compares Prop. 2.3.51 *turpia . . . uincla* with fr. 37.4

The first poem of the *Monobiblos* contains no hint of a catalogue, but it does include one extended *exemplum* of a mythological heroine, Atalanta and Melanion (Prop. 1.1.9–16), whose success in winning the girl Propertius is conspicuously unable to emulate. It has often been suspected that Propertius here alludes programmatically to a use of the myth by Gallus. Speculation compounded might toy with the possibility of a Gallan use of material from the *Catalogue*, to which Propertius' emphatic use of catalogue structures in 1.2–4 and 1.19 might also be suspected to allude. The pieces in play would include the appearance of Gallus at the climax of *Eclogue* 6, a poem which there are reasonable grounds for believing to allude to the *Catalogue*, and the appearance of the story of the race between Atalanta and Hippomenes as the first in the series of 'catalogue'-style *exempla* at Theocritus 3.40–51.[32] Theocritus' goatherd of course refers to the alternative version of the story of Atalanta in which Hippomenes won her hand in a foot-race with the trick of Aphrodite's golden apples, which was the version narrated in the *Catalogue*, elaborately and possibly prominently at the beginning of Book 2 (frr. 72–6).[33] Propertius/?Gallus alludes to this version at the end of the Atalanta-exemplum, 15 *ergo uelocem potuit domuisse puellam*, a conflation that is also made in Callimachus' *Hymn to Artemis* 215–24, where the daughter of Iasus (Prop. 1.1.10 *Iasidos*) is introduced with an epithet, ποδορρώρην, properly used of the racing Atalanta, daughter of Schoeneus.[34] As in other cases, one may hypothesise transmission to the Latin poets of material from the *Catalogue* via Callimachus, with the possibility of 'double allusion.'[35] But if Gallus did work the *Catalogue* into his elegy, what are we to make of the fact that the one mythographical collection that we know was offered to him, Parthenius' *Erotika Pathemata*, does not seem to draw on the Hesiodic *Catalogue* at all,[36] unless perhaps Parthenius avoided a source that he knew to be already well known to Gallus?

δεσμὸν ἀεικές (contrast *Od.* 11.293 δεσμοί τ' ἀργαλέοι). For another catalogue of women, see Prop. 2.30.27–30 (Propertius happy in the countryside with Cynthia) *illic aspicies scopulis haerere Sorores | et canere antiqui dulcia furta Iouis, | ut Semelast combustus, ut est deperditus Io, | denique ut ad Troiae tecta uolarit auis*; an indirect link to the Hesiodic *Catalogue* might be made via *Geo.* 4.346 *dulcia furta*.

[32] See Hunter above, pp. 264–5, and Hunter on Theocr. 3.40–51.

[33] West 1985a: 67.

[34] See Reinsch-Werner 1976: 281–2.

[35] One possibility is *Aen.* 7.808–9 *illa uel intactae segetis per summa uolaret | gramina nec teneras cursu laesisset aristas*: cf. *Cat.* fr. 62.3 (Iphiclus) οὐ σινέσκετο καρπόν (*Aen.* 7.809 *nec teneras cursu laesisset aristas*), and Callim. fr. 75.46 οὐ σφυρὸν Ἰφίκλειον ἐπιτρέχον ἀσταχύεσσιν. Boyd 1992: 232 argues that Virgil refers to *Iliad* 20.226–7 (offspring of Boreas and the mares of Ericthonius) through *Catalogue* fr. 62. Virgil ends his Homeric catalogue of warriors with a character who might come from the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*. An Ovidian example of possible double allusion is Coronis in *Met.* 2, from *Catalogue* via Callim. *Hekale*? See Reinsch-Werner 1976: 365–6.

[36] No references to the *Catalogue* in Lightfoot 1999.

Of all Latin poets, Ovid is the most persistent and the most inventive in his use of lists of various kinds.[37] Lists of women come naturally to the love poet, who in *Amores* 2.4 confesses that he falls in love with every girl he sees. Ovid imitates the threefold Propertian lists of mythological heroines twice in *Amores* 1, firstly in 1.7.13–18, where the dishevelled Corinna is compared to Atalanta,[38] Ariadne, and Cassandra, a catalogue also of famous passages in earlier Latin poets, respectively Propertius 1.1 (?and Gallus), Catullus 64, and *Aeneid* 2.403–6.[39] *Amores* 1.10.1–7 replicates the pattern of the triple simile of Propertius 1.3.1–7, but makes it conform more strictly to a routinised ἠ' οἵη schema by replacing the Propertian *nec minus* at the third time of asking (after *qualis . . . qualis . . .*) with a third *qualis*. If we wanted to view this triple simile through the lens of the Hesiodic *Catalogue*, we might note that the first comparison, Helen, the cause of the Trojan War, marks the end of the age when gods mingled with mortals, and the second and third, Leda and Amymone, are both rape victims from that age (victims respectively of Jupiter and Neptune). As long as Corinna's beauty alone bewitched Ovid, he feared that she too might be the target of Jupiter's attentions (7–8), but her venality has rudely awakened him to the true nature of this thoroughly modern girl.[40]

Several scholars have recently noted other pointed uses by Ovid of the Hesiodic *Catalogue*, or of the 'idea' of the *Catalogue*. In his commentary on *Ars Amatoria* 3, Roy Gibson notes that the transition from *Ars* 2 (erotic 'weapons' for the male reader) to *Ars* 3 (arms for the Amazons) alludes to the transition from the *Iliad* to the *Aethiopis* ('there came an Amazon . . .'), but also to the transition from Hesiod's *Theogony* to the *Catalogue*. 'There is a broad similarity between the announcement of intention to move on to the subject of women in the first couplet of *Ars* 2 and that in the last two lines of the *Theogony* (which are also the first two lines of the *Catalogue* [νῦν δὲ γυναικῶν φῦλον ἀείσατε . . .]). The reference is confirmed by the fact that Ovid goes on to offer two catalogues of women in the opening

[37] Tarrant 2002: 15.

[38] Ovid's choice of antonomasia for Atalanta (here, the Arcadian huntress), *Schoeneida*, hints at the same deliberate confusion of the two Atalantas as in Propertius, since Schoeneus is the father of Atalanta the racer (*Catalogue* frr. 75.12, 76.9). See also McKeown on *Am.* 1.7.13–14 *Maenalias* (and *Catalogue* fr. 72).

[39] Cf. the observation of Tarrant 2002: 15, that 'the catalogue of passionate women in *Ars* 1.283–340 and its inverted counterpart in *Rem.* 55–68 function as implicit lists of poets who have treated those legends.'

[40] Ovid does not in fact overtly talk in terms of a contrast between past and present *mores* in *Am.* 1.10, but the poem's 'most important single model' (McKeown) seems to have been Callimachus' third *Iamb*, which criticised the modern age for its preference of money over virtue, attacking a young man who turned his good looks to monetary profit.

passages of *Ars* 3 (11–22, 39–42).'[41] Gibson's comment that the phrase (1) *arma supersunt* may 'tease female addressees with the idea that their book is an epigonal afterthought' may suggest another catalogue intertext, the appearance of Camilla, the Italian Amazon, as the last in the catalogue of (male) Italian warriors at the end of *Aeneid* 7, a climax but also a supplement (*Aen*. 7.803 *hos super aduenit Volsca de gente Camilla*). The description of the miraculously swift Camilla includes one of the clearest allusions to the *Catalogue* (see above), and it may be significant for Ovid that Virgil transfers the detail from a male character in the *Catalogue* (Iphiclus) to the female Camilla.

Reviewing Ted Kenney's commentary on *Heroides* 16–21, Alessandro Barchiesi draws attention to the parallel between 16.37–8 (Paris to Helen) *ante tuos animo uidi quam lumine uultus; | prima tulit uulnus nuntia fama mihi* and fr. 199.2–3 of the *Catalogue*, ἰμείρων Ἑλένης πόσις ἔμμεναι ἠυκόμοιο, | εἶδος οὔ τι ἰδών, ἀλλ' ἄλλων μῦθον ἀκούων. Barchiesi raises the possibility of a more extensive connection between the *Heroides* and the *Catalogue*:

> The two poems share an important feature, the angle on famous women and their lovers, and the Ovidian work frequently refers back to a tradition on divine amours as a kind of previous stage, now that the single *Heroides* deal with the loves of half-gods and heroes, and the double *Heroides* move on to famous boy-meets-girl stories like Leander or Acontios. Perhaps the influence of *Catalogue of Women* deserves more attention.[42]

One of those references back to the 'previous stage' of the loves of gods for mortal women occurs in a list of the loves of Neptune, of which Hero reminds the god of the sea in her plea to him not to hinder Leander's passage across the Hellespont, *Her*. 19.129–38.[43] The editors of *P. Herc*. 1602 fr. 6 and 243 fr. 3, a list of women loved by Poseidon in Philodemus' *On Piety*, note a significant coincidence between the names and their ordering in Hero's and Philodemus' lists, and an overlap between both of these, the series of women loved by Neptune on the tapestry of Arachne in *Metamorphoses* 6 (on which see below), and the Hesiodic *Catalogue*. Dirk Obbink argues that both Philodemus and Ovid derive their knowledge of the *Catalogue* from the original Περὶ θεῶν of Apollodorus of Athens.[44] That may be so,

[41] Gibson also suggests possible allusion to Callim. fr. 112.9 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ Μουσέων πεζὸν ἔπειμι νομόν, which itself may allude to the transition between *Theog.* and *Catalogue* (see Hunter above, pp. 242–3).

[42] Barchiesi 1996.

[43] Including (132) Tyro, in whose description Kenney ad loc. sees allusion to her appearance in the catalogue of heroines in *Odyssey* 11.

[44] Obbink 2004: 199.

but this does not mean that either Ovid or Philodemus could not have had direct access to the *Catalogue*, and, in the case of Ovid, with his obsessive interest in literary genealogies, there is surely in both *Metamorphoses* 6 and *Heroides* 19 an evocation, at least, of the Hesiodic source of Apollodoran mythography.[45]

Ovid himself was the first to draw attention to the importance of the tradition of catalogues of women to the *Heroides*. Stephen Hinds has shown how in his exile poetry Ovid uses allusion to a Propertian 'catalogue moment' in order to comment retrospectively on one of the literary affiliations of the *Heroides*.[46] In *Tristia* 1.6, Ovid exalts the loyalty of his wife above that of Andromache, Laudamia, and Penelope. Going on to lament the loss of his poetic powers, he says that, were he the poet he once was, (33–4) *prima locum sanctas heroidas inter haberes, | prima bonis animi conspicerere tui*. Line 33 closely reworks Propertius' award to Cynthia of first place among a catalogue of heroines in the Underworld at 2.28.29–30 *et tibi Maeonias omnis heroidas inter | primus erit nulla non tribuente locus*. But not only does Ovid's wife claim first place among the mythological Greek heroines who so dominate Propertius' erotic imagination, 'she would rank first in *Ovid's own poetic collection of Heroides* or *Epistulae Heroidum*, itself a "catalogue of women" writ large (and, as it happens, presented as a catalogue by Ovid himself as early as the inventory of his amatory works in *Amores* 2.18).'[47]

Hinds goes on to explore the ways in which *Tristia* 1.6 configures itself as love poetry in the tradition of the Greek 'catalogue poems' by Antimachus, Philitas, and, above all, Hermesianax. To his acute insights I will add just one more reflection. In reducing the variety and length of his own *Heroides* to a schematic list of women characterised by their essential qualities, Ovid registers his awareness of how the Hellenistic 'catalogue poems' themselves constitute, as Richard Hunter puts it (above, p. 259), a 'reduction of the rich scope and uneven texture of the *Catalogue* to its most memorable . . . repetitive feature . . .'. By contrast, however, the *Metamorphoses* offer Ovid's reader a fantastic elaboration, complication, and exploration of aspects of the Hesiodic *Catalogue* which is anything but simple.

[45] For the likelihood that Roman poets used mythographic handbooks as handy reference works even if they were also drawing on literary treatments of myths, see Cameron 2004: 286: 'mythographic handbooks . . . served [Ovid] as guides rather than sources.'

[46] Hinds 1999. [47] Hinds 1999: 127.

CHAPTER 13

Or such as Ovid's Metamorphoses . . .

Richard Fletcher

'In other words, mythography is the history of the invagination of mythological premise and image – of text as image, of text *as* margin.'[1]

EXEMPLARY MYTHOGRAPHY

'In 1956 it happened again that a papyrus discovery, ostensibly helpful, started certain scholars off on a false trail. This was the unexpectedly ample proem of the *Catalogue* (F I), in which the initial appeal "Tell of the women who surrendered themselves to gods" is taken up in lines 15ff. by "– all those that Zeus lay with . . . and those that Poseidon . . . and Ares . . . Hermes . . .". This was interpreted by some as an indication that the poem was at least to some extent arranged by gods: first Zeus' amours, then Poseidon's and so on. But in 1962 the publication of volume xxviii of *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, edited by Edgar Lobel, put our knowledge on a wholly new footing. The available material was nearly doubled at a stroke. As I pointed out at the time, the new papyri established beyond reasonable doubt the correctness of the traditional view that the *Catalogue* was laid out on the same general principle as Apollodorus' book, with systematic exposition of the great genealogies.'[2]

West here replays a major scene in the dramatic development of the text of the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*. This retrospective offers a series of warnings for any attempt to read an intertextual relationship between the *Catalogue* and Latin poetry in general and Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in particular.[3] The overarching warning in his account concerns the general instability of the text of the *Catalogue*, and especially the destabilising effect

[1] Chance 1994: 6. [2] West 1985a: 34–5.

[3] The theory of intertextuality, as appropriated by classicists, ranges from 'noncontinuous points of contact' (i.e. quotations) to 'large-scale intertextual programs' (Edmunds 2001: 134). In many ways, the triangulation of genealogy (of the Hesiodic text and as its guiding principle), genre (mythography) and theory (intertextuality) at work in this chapter is a progression of ideas I have explored elsewhere.

of its fragmentary nature and the intermittent discovery of papyri on the relationship between the proem and the rest of the poem. The fragmentary nature of the *Catalogue* has obviously hindered efforts at mapping its Roman reception, while the appearance of papyri has caused 'false trails' in the field of reception as well as among Hesiodic scholars.[4] The specific tension within the thematic unity of the poem as a whole – that the proem's focus on the 'amours' of the gods does not relate to its overall genealogical structure – means that the 'false trail' that the discovery of the proem initiated could be to some degree a strategy of the poem as a whole, and even an effect picked up in its reception. In short, the intratextual confusion caused by the *Catalogue*'s textual instability presents a further challenge to intertextual analysis.[5]

The second major warning is evident in West's explicit reference to 'Apollodorus'.[6] This reference means that, given that the reconstruction of the text of the *Catalogue* depends so heavily on [Apollodorus]' *Library*, there is a call for some form of intertextuality as a necessary tool for reconstructing the poem.[7] However, scholars who followed the 'false trail' of the proem papyrus discovery looked to other texts to aid the reconstruction of the fragments. One such text was Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.[8] One particular casualty of the 'false trail' was Schwartz, who was among those that West had in mind here.[9] In his account of the structure of the *Catalogue*, Schwartz discusses the role of 'les listes d'aimées de dieux et d'enfants de dieux'.[10] Within this section and throughout his study, Schwartz uses the *Metamorphoses* as

[4] Besides Schwartz 1960: 601–3, accounts of the relationship between the *Metamorphoses* and the *Catalogue* are scattered amongst: Lafaye 1904: 4–5; McKay 1962: 44; Hollis 1970: 128–129; Myers 1994: 29; Keith 1992: 250 with n. 71. The most recent account is Farrell (forthcoming). On intertextuality as fragmentation, see Hinds 1998: 102 on the 'deep-seated predisposition among Latinists to "fragment" even non-fragmentary texts in the interpretation of allusive relationships'.

[5] A telling example of the intertext finessing the intratext is Clauss 1990. His reading of Hellenistic imitations of the proem must account for the absence of the 'real subject of the poem' (131) – the genealogies of the *hemitheoi* – from the proem. His readings of the *Argonautica* in particular show how the genealogical theme is reintegrated by the Hellenistic responses to the proem he discusses.

[6] On the relationship between Apollodorus of Athens' *On Gods*, the pseudo-Apollodorus' (henceforth [Apollodorus]) *Library*, the *Catalogue* and the *Metamorphoses*, see, specifically, Obbink 2004: 199 and, in general, Farrell (forthcoming).

[7] While [Apollodorus] is the main reference point, other texts, especially the *Metamorphoses*, have also had a role to play in the reconstruction of the *Catalogue*. On the *Metamorphoses*, see Traversa 1952: 29 with West 1985a: 34, and Treu 1957: 173. La Penna 1962: 220–1 refers to the song of Clymene in the *Georgics* and its focus on *diuom . . . amores* in relation to the papyrus discovery.

[8] The programmatic role of divine rapes in the *Metamorphoses*, from Daphne to the tapestry of Arachne, could have been seen as a reason for comparison. See Otis 1970: 78, who had at this point already referred to 'the determined virgin courted by a passionate god' as a 'motif' repeated throughout the poem.

[9] Along with Treu 1957 and Stiewe 1962.

[10] Schwartz 1960: 281–97. Although Schwartz also considers the usefulness of [Apollodorus] in some detail.

an important intermediary to the reconstruction of the fragments.[11] The mediated relationship reflects how a further warning inheres in West's reference to the role of [Apollodorus]' *Library* as a model for the *Catalogue*: any relationship between the *Catalogue* and the *Metamorphoses* must accommodate the intermediary. Indeed, Farrell's procedure, in his forthcoming article on Ovid and mythography, is precisely 'to compare the structure of the *Metamorphoses* to that of the *Library*, using the surviving fragments of the *Catalogue* as a control, as a means of establishing a relationship between Hesiod and Ovid.'[12] While [Apollodorus]' *Library* must have a part to play, both in the reconstruction of the fragments and in the relationship between the *Catalogue* and the *Metamorphoses*, the slippage between the two parts of this twin role demonstrates the cyclical nature of textual formation and intertextuality, to the extent that we must be wary of too heavy reliance on the *Library* in charting an intertextual relationship between the *Catalogue* and the *Metamorphoses*.[13]

These warnings inherent in West's retrospective narration – the instability of the text and the dangerous dependence on the mediating role of the *Library* – both reflect the overarching problem of the *Catalogue*'s and the *Metamorphoses*' affiliation to the genre of mythography. The role of the classical scholar tying down the protean text is aided by the idea of a totalising mythological backdrop, which, given the textual instability of the *Catalogue*, is (all too conveniently) represented in the form of [Apollodorus'] *Library*, as an intertextual grid. This dependence can be seen in West's reference to the *Catalogue* as a 'systematic exposition of the great genealogies'. The idea of systematic exposition is one central to the generic make-up of mythography.[14] Given this focus on systematic exposition, readers have tended to combine Hesiod's *Theogony* with the *Catalogue* to create a comprehensive mythographical poem, while recent studies of the *Metamorphoses* have seen comprehensive mythography as a structural model for Ovid's text.[15] However, readings of '*Theogony* plus *Catalogue*' and the *Metamorphoses* as comprehensive mythography underplay one of the

[11] On the problem of direct reference, see McKay 1962: 44 – 'there is no chance that Ovid draws directly on pseudo-Hesiod' – and, on the other side, Hollis 1970: 129 – 'It seems quite probable to me that our poet draws on the *Catalogue* both here and elsewhere in the *Metamorphoses*; if he has read Boeus and Nicander, why not pseudo-Hesiod?'

[12] Farrell (forthcoming) 'Appendix 1'.

[13] Indeed, one of the main implications for my argument is a questioning of the wholesale use of the *Library* in approaches to the *Catalogue* and its reception.

[14] Cameron 2004: 192 – 'The only ancient writers to tell the stories of myth systematically were the mythographers.'

[15] Farrell (forthcoming): 1 – 'the *Metamorphoses* . . . structures itself as a work of comprehensive mythography'; Cameron 2004: 200 – 'a comprehensive work like the *Bibliotheca* will have suggested ways of linking and arranging stories [for Ovid]'.

major distinctions that form the central generic make-up of mythography: the distinction between the 'secondary' mythographical handbook and the 'primary' poetic text. This distinction is often viewed through an intertextual lens. As a genre, the mythographical handbook operates like a dictionary of quotations, which is intrinsically reliant on intertextuality.[16] Furthermore, despite the affinities that both the *Catalogue* and the *Metamorphoses* have with the mythographical genre, their relationships to systematic mythological exposition is complicated by a marked exemplarity already present in their titles: mythography *through* women and *through* metamorphosis.[17] This exemplarity is further complicated, in the case of the *Catalogue*, by the marked generic function of its 'title', as a genre within mythography – the genre of catalogue or collective poetry.[18] Thus, the exemplarity of the *Catalogue* is a conflation of generic and gendered generalisations.[19] It is the exemplarity of these mythographical poems that often contains the most currency in their respective receptions, as the idea of the *Catalogue* (the generic gendering of the *ehoie* formula) and the idea of the *Metamorphoses* (the theme of metamorphosis) become their 'most memorable . . . repetitive feature . . .'.[20] Consider the role of [Lactantius'] *Narrationes* in the reception of the *Metamorphoses*.[21] These prose renditions of the poem seem to offer no ostensible difficulties for intertextuality: the *Metamorphoses* is openly marked as the source text. However, when we start to ask questions about the security of the textual transmission of the *Narrationes* and deviations from Ovid's text in general (from references to sources *for* Ovid, as well as brief scholiastic comments), the security of any interpretation of the relationship between these texts becomes more

[16] See Chance 1994: 1 – 'Mythography and its allegorical methods, growing up in the classical and medieval schools where study of philosophy, or of the liberal arts leading to philosophy, flourished, existed by definition as a marginal and intertextual process. That is, it presupposed an original or poetic ("lying") text and it flourished as a separate text in the margins of the page, as a secondary and explanatory project.' The *Metamorphoses* is further 'marginalised' within the 'secondary' project of mythography on account of being a Roman transformation of Greek myth, cf. Horsfall in Bremmer–Horsfall 1987: 1 – 'The poets of classical Greece create or retell myth for society at large; Roman men of letters construct secondary myth for *recitationes*.'

[17] On the 'feminising role' of mythography in general see Chance 1994: 12. Rutherford 2000: 265 n. 40 offers two models of the *Catalogue* as 'genealogised *ehoie*' or '*ehoieised* genealogy' based on the centrality or superficiality of the 'female perspective'. Cf. Segal 1998: 14, referring to Schmidt 1991, 'Ovid's narrative works on two temporal planes, history and exemplarity.' As we shall see, linking the *Metamorphoses* to the *Catalogue* causes the genealogical to enter this formulation.

[18] On which, see Asquith in this volume.

[19] I use the term exemplarity to push the *ehoie* structure of the *Catalogue* onto the thematised bias of the *Metamorphoses*.

[20] Hunter, above p. 259.

[21] For the text, see Magnus 1914: 625–721 or Slater 1927. On the *Narrationes* attributed to one Lactantius, see Otis 1936 and Tarrant 1995.

difficult. Indeed, the *tituli* that split up the text of the *Narrationes* into separate stories of metamorphosis show how literary history can dictate approaches based on exemplarity, as the dependent text (the *Narrationes*) is structured according to a thematic overdetermination based on the title of the source text (the *Metamorphoses*), as the *Narrationes* fragment Ovid's text into its exemplary idea of metamorphosis.

In accessing an intertextual relationship between the *Catalogue* and the *Metamorphoses*, the generic and gendered exemplarity of the *Catalogue* is a complicated issue. For example, the *Catalogue*'s catch-phrase translated pretty smoothly into the repetitious formulae of Latin love-elegy, while the transition from *Theogony* to *Catalogue* mediates the gendered transition of projected readers from *Ars Amatoria* Book 2 to Book 3. Yet, given the use of the *Catalogue* for these erotic genres, how does this work for the ostensibly non-erotic genre of the epic *Metamorphoses*? On a basic level, Ovid's irreverent project calls for the gendered Hesiodic foil to Homeric 'male' heroic epic.[22] However, if we return to West's account, this overt gendering is conspicuously absent. His formulation sets out to juxtapose the 'amours' of the gods with the 'great genealogies' as structural markers of the *Catalogue*. Within this juxtaposition, the female hinge is eradicated. If we reinsert 'the female' into West's *Catalogue*, his 'amours' become 'rapes' and the 'great genealogies' become dependent on a female human élite. Just as West's euphemistic reference to the 'amours' of the gods cannot but be affected by modern readings of rape narratives in Greek myth and their translation into the Roman context of Ovid's poem,[23] his focus on the 'great genealogies' cannot deny their origins in divine rape of the élite women of the distant heroic age. In mapping this transition from the 'amours' of the gods to the well-documented ideas of rape in the *Metamorphoses*, this chapter will assess the currency of the 'false trail' within the 'traditional' genealogical structure through the reception of the *Catalogue* in the *Metamorphoses* and the implications for Augustan imperial ideology.

EXCESSIVE MYTHOGRAPHY: ARACHNE'S *LABOR*

'Rapes (some Ovid's) fill Arachne's tapestry in Book 6'[24]

The episode that most obviously shows the presence of the Hesiodic *Catalogue* in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* – as specifically formulated by the 'false

[22] On this gendered exemplarity ('emphasis on the female') as the Hesiodic foil to Homeric epic, see Clay 2003: 165–6 and Rutherford 2000: 89.

[23] On this euphemism, see Curran 1978: 214–15.

[24] Richlin 1992: 162.

trail' of the discovery of the proem and the generalised 'idea' of the genre and gendering of the *Catalogue* – is the tapestry of Arachne in her weaving contest with Minerva in Book 6 (103–28).[25] The contest has been read as a battle of poetics and politics, based on the selectivity and organising principles of its protagonists, with Minerva's classical, authoritarian poetics juxtaposed with Arachne's irreverent catalogue of divine rapes by metamorphic male divinities.[26] This division echoes one of the earliest readings of the contest – that of the *Narrationes* – which marks a distinction between Minerva's *scientia artis* and Arachne's *labor*.[27] The extent of Arachne's *labor* has been read as based on the number of stories 'narrated' (*plura opera*), while also accounting for the lack of order or structure in her tapestry.[28] Nevertheless, recent investigations into the structure and agenda of the catalogue have looked to how it both picks up earlier narrated rapes and pre-empts later ones within and without the *Metamorphoses*.[29] Wheeler has drawn the Arachnean catalogue into the narrative dynamics of Ovid's poem by noting how some of the rapes occur elsewhere in the *Metamorphoses*, a fact that undermines any simplistic notion of Arachne's tapestry as a haphazard list.[30] Such intratextual readings presuppose a formulation of mythography in which the citation of a story in passing acts as 'a form of *praeteritio*, through which Ovid reveals all the divine rapes he has not narrated and will not narrate.'[31] This is a form of excessive mythographical writing in which the mythological archive is always present behind poetic selectivity as an intertextual grid.[32] Given this backdrop, in approaching Arachne's tapestry, scholars have either homogenised the source of Arachne's

[25] On the tapestries and the catalogue genre, see Lausberg 1982: 114, 'Doch auch als Kompositionsform ganzer Werke ist der Katalog gerade in der hellenistischen Dichtung beliebt, nach dem Vorbild insbesondere der hesiodeischen Ehoien, in denen es wie auf Arachnes Bild um Liebesverbindungen von Göttern mit sterblichen Frauen geht.'

[26] For bibliography on this episode, see Wheeler 2000: 98 n. 88. In addition, see: Feeney 1991: 190–4; Vincent 1994; Smith 1997: 54–64, Rosati 1999: 292–7 and Feldherr 2002: 174–5.

[27] *Narr.* 6. 1 (Magnus 1914: 662) – *plura uero opera Arachnes poeta rettulit fuisse quam Mineruae, ut hanc scientia artis, quae potentior est, illam labore contendisse demonstraret.*

[28] See Tarrant 1995: 94 with n. 37.

[29] On the links between the Neptune catalogue and *Heroides* 19, see Obbink 2004: 194–6.

[30] Wheeler 2000: 99. [31] Wheeler 2000: 99.

[32] See Graf 2002: 119 – 'it has rightly become unfashionable to posit as [Ovid's] source mythological handbooks, so favoured by nineteenth-century scholarship . . . there is nothing to prevent us from assuming that [he] read avidly and systematically.' Quoted in Cameron 2004: 192–3, who adds – 'No one doubts that Ovid read avidly, but it is not clear what difference reading *systematically* could have made. . . . To take a single category of Greek poetry entirely devoted to myth, even if we assume that Ovid read widely in the tragic poets, each tragedy dealt with only one story (or part of a story) . . .'. Hence, the problem caused by the combination of *Theogony* plus *Catalogue* being read as comprehensive and systematic mythography.

list,[33] or seen in the list references to a variety of poets rather than to a single author or handbook.

These preoccupations – with definitions of Minervan and Arachnean poetics, the relationship between the tapestry and the rest of Ovid's poem and the arguments over whether there was one source or several for each textual tapestry – distance the reader from the immediate narratorial aims of the figure of the weaver, and especially 'how psychologically intriguing it is for [Arachne, as a *virgo* 6. 45] to devote the tales on her web to rape.'[34] Given this irony, it is surprising that studies of rape in Ovid's poetry have generally steered clear of the Arachnean catalogue.[35] One reason for the subject-matter of her catalogue could be to respond directly to her opponent in the contest – Minerva. Within the weaving contest, Arachne's tapestry reverses the typical prayer to Minerva offered by the *uirgo* who faces rape by a god. Such a model has already been established in the *Metamorphoses*.[36] However, if the subject-matter of Arachne's catalogue somehow subverts the expected role of the *uirgo*, how, if at all, is this characterisation related to questions of her mythographical method? If we take one thread of the Arachne tapestry and unravel it in response to the question of why a *uirgo* would depict scenes of divine rape, her motivation for her selection of stories directly addresses the problems and challenges of reading Ovid's rapes through the Hesiodic *Catalogue*, and not only the 'false trail' of a poem structured by the 'amours' of the gods, nor the 'idea' of the *Catalogue*, but also its 'traditional' genealogical structure.

My thread is the following *locus* in the catalogue of Neptune's rapes (6.116–17):

> . . . tu uisus Enipeus
> gignis Aloidas . . .[37]
>
> in the form of Enipeus, you father the Aloidae

Scholars have been quick to note the mythological discrepancy: it was Tyro, the mother of Neleus and Pelias, not Iphimedeia, mother of the giant Aloidae (Otus and Ephialtes), who was raped by Neptune in the form of the

[33] Cameron 2004: 184. [34] Smith 1997: 58. Cf. further Rosati 1999: 297.

[35] Richlin 1992 – the one comment quoted above; Curran 1978 offers only one reference (p. 219). There is nothing in Murgatroyd 2000.

[36] Compare, for example, Coronis in Book 2. 572–80 – especially 579–80 – *mota est pro uirgine uirgo | auxiliumque tulit.*

[37] Text from Tarrant's *OCT*.

river Enipeus.[38] In pointing out this 'mistake', scholars have been divided between those who argue that Arachne has misread the Odyssean *nekyia*, in which both Tyro and Iphimedeia appear as rape victims of Poseidon, and those who argue that Ovid has misused his mythographical source.[39] In bridging these two readings of the 'mistake', the role of the Hesiodic *Catalogue* is instructive as a text that acts as a problematic intertext for the *Metamorphoses*, as a work positioned somewhere in between a primary poetic and secondary mythographical source.

In general, studies of the *nekyia* in the *Odyssey* (11.225–330) have attempted to negotiate its relationship with the Hesiodic *Catalogue*.[40] One such attempt has been to read a genealogical theory concerning the poet's selection process, as several of the women included are from the descendants of Aeolus.[41] Pade's reading specifically links these genealogies with Peisistratus, who claimed his lineage went back to Nestor, the youngest son of Neleus and Chloris. Pade states that:

> In the *Odyssey* we see that Tyro and Kloris, and with them the house of Neleus, are honoured above the other great families in the catalogue.[42]

Given the reliance on the Hesiodic *Catalogue* for such genealogical readings of the *nekyia*, how should we proceed with Arachne's 'mistake'? Does a genealogical reading of Arachne's catalogue work? While the opening catalogue of Jupiter's rapes seems not to have any identifiable structuring principle, that of Neptune initially sets up some form of genealogically consistent theme. The first name in the Poseidon catalogue is the *Aeolia uirgo* (6.115–16), who has been identified as Canace. She is mentioned in the *Catalogue* (fr. 10a.102–7) as Αἰολίς, with the strange detail that she had produced a 'double birth' (δὶς τέκε 104) by Poseidon.[43] Furthermore, the granddaughter of Canace was Iphimedeia. Tyro was also a descendant of Aeolus, whose son, Salmoneus, was her father. Thus, Arachne's catalogue potentially sets up a genealogical structure for the beginning of

[38] Bömer 1969–1986: *ad loc.* (41–2), Schwartz 1960: 291. Obbink 2004: 198 compares this 'mistake' with the 'infamous flaw' in Minerva's tapestry, in which she imagines herself as Victory, thus depicting thirteen, rather than the standard twelve Olympians.

[39] For the former, see Anderson 1972: 115–20 – 'Arachne may be inexact in her mythology here.' Also, Obbink 2004: 198 – 'But Arachne, like a schoolgirl, has erred in her mythology, confusing Iphimedeia with Tyro from *Odyssey* 11.235–254'. For the latter, see Schwartz 1960: 336–8, who sees the similarities between the accounts of Tyro and Iphimedeia in [Apollodorus]' *Library*. See Doherty 1993: 13 n. 13 for a comparison between Iphimedeia and Tyro via the theme of masturbation.

[40] On the relationship between the Homeric and Hesiodic catalogues, see: Page 1955a: 36–8; Rutherford 2000: 93–6.

[41] See West 1985a: 32 with n. 7.

[42] Pade 1983: 13.

[43] On which, see West 1985a: 61 with n. 68. For Canace as *Aiolis* in *Heroides* 11, cf. McKay 1962: 45–6.

the rapes of Neptune through the 'mistake' of *Aloidas*. All three women – Canace, Iphimedeia and Tyro – seem to have appeared in the first book of the *Catalogue*, as descendants of Aeolus. The order of the descendants, as organised by Merkelbach and West, has the daughters of Aeolus and their lines narrated first and then the lines of his sons. According to the possible structuring principles of the *Catalogue*, the Canace section could have been followed by an account of Iphimedeia and her sons, the Aloidae.[44] Furthermore, it seems as if Salmoneus, the father of Tyro in the *Catalogue*, begins the section on the sons of Aeolus. Therefore, one possible reconstruction of the text would have the Aloidae appearing just before Tyro and her sons, Neleus and Pelias. In addition to this structural link, all three women were raped by Neptune to produce multiple offspring. In Arachne's catalogue, the marked focus on the offspring of the confused name (*gignis* 117) allows for the offspring of Tyro (Neleus and Pelias), as well as those of Iphimedeia (the Aloidae).[45]

While the genealogical structure of Arachne's catalogue of the rapes of Neptune ultimately breaks down, if we consider again the aims of the narrator in making her 'mistake' and its focus on offspring, we can see another use of the *Catalogue* to aid the narrator in her contest, and a possible reason why Ovid would have Arachne initially intimate a genealogical basis for her tapestry. As well as the general genealogical link and the potential bridge between the daughters of Aeolus and his sons in the text of the *Catalogue*, there is a further connection between the sons of Iphimedeia – the Aloidae – and the *ehoie* of Tyro, introduced through her father, Salmoneus.[46] In fr. 30, Hesiod narrates the story of the *hubris* of Salmoneus in contending with Zeus, and his punishment of being thrown into Tartarus. Hesiod describes how Tyro was saved owing to the fact that she constantly fought and argued against her father and, unlike him, did not dare compare mortals to gods (fr. 30.27 – [οὐ]δ' εἴασκε θεοῖς [βροτὸν ἰσ]οφαρίζειν). Given the focus of the Hesiodic account on the transgression of Salmoneus against the gods, there seems to be a thematic link between him and the Aloidae, who could have preceded him in the text.[47]

[44] As well as the testimonia of fr. 19, see the possibilities in Parsons–Sijpsteijn–Worp 1981: 19. Thus, coming after fr. 10a.107 rather than at 83–9, the link would be especially well placed, as Iphimedeia is not only Canace's granddaughter but also her daughter-in-law.

[45] This focus on offspring can also be seen in Philodemus' catalogue of Poseidon's rape victims, which specifically alludes to the offspring of Tyro. See Obbink 2004: 190 for the text.

[46] It is significant for my argument that elsewhere Ovid names Tyro *Salmonea*. We also find Salmoneus in the list of Aeolus' sons in fr. 10a.27, where he is called ἄδικος.

[47] This possibility is strengthened by a passage from the *katabasis* in the *Aeneid*, in which Aeneas sees the damned Salmoneus, directly after the Aloidae. In this passage of the *Aeneid*, both the Aloidae and Salmoneus are being punished in Tartarus for trying to usurp or mimic Jupiter respectively.

Therefore, one could argue that Arachne uses the *Catalogue* to contend against Minerva's tapestry and its subject-matter – not only through the *caelestia crimina* of mortal sexual liaisons with gods, but also through the projected promise of the heroic offspring of such liaisons and their effect on the imperial order of Jupiter, as represented in Minerva's tapestry.[48] This vision of heroic genealogy in divine rape could have a more direct effect on the narrator herself. For example, since Neptune is the only god addressed in Arachne's catalogue (*Neptune* 115), such an address could be linked to the specific type of rapes narrated by Arachne at the beginning of her catalogue of Neptune's lovers.[49] Both Tyro and Iphimedeia fell in love with sea-divinities and were raped by Poseidon. Furthermore, the Neptune catalogue has the following lines in conclusion (6.121–2):

> omnibus his faciemque suam faciemque locorum
> reddidit.
>
> to all these she gave their own face and the features of each place

Feldherr reads these lines as Arachne 'giving back' these women their identity, lost through the rape, directly through the reader's recognition of them in Ovid's text.[50] However, this focus on the identification of the rape victims provokes a further twist, if they are recognised specifically from the Hesiodic *Catalogue*. Arachne's *labor* identifies herself with the women who gave birth to divine offspring, specifically by Neptune. This reading empowers Arachne as a narrator within the *Metamorphoses* through an intertextual reference to the potential victory within her artistic depiction. Therefore, Arachne's excessive mythography could explain her role as *uirgo* narrating the rapes of the gods. She is calling for divine aid in her competition with Minerva, which acts, as we have noted, as an inverse of the expected virginal behaviour of calling on Minerva for protection against amorous, predatory male divinities. Furthermore, given that the mortal women referred to at the beginning of the *Catalogue* are not famous simply because of their sexual encounters with gods, but because they represent the élite women of the human race, Arachne's enacting of this prayer through her tapestry could

[48] Furthermore, Arachne's valorisation of the sexual exploits of Neptune could be based on opposing Minerva's victory over him in her contest over the naming of Athens – which is the main focus on her tapestry.

[49] On the apostrophe, see Vincent 1994: 373.

[50] Cf. Feldherr 2002: 175. John Henderson pointed out to me the affinity between *loci* and ideas of mythographical representation. For the practical problem that this verse raises, see Valerius Maximus 8.11.ext.5 (as part of the section called *Quaedam nulla arte effici posse*) on the story of the artist Euphranor, who was painting the twelve gods of Athens and pulled out all the stops for the portrait of Neptune and could not surpass this image when wanting to portray Jupiter as even greater.

be attempting to reverse her social status as pointedly marked against her heavenly skill earlier in her story (6.7–8):

> non illa loco nec origine gentis
> clara, sed arte fuit.[51]

neither for her birthplace nor for her family's origins was she famed, but for her skill.

Therefore, Arachne's *labor* – her tapestry of divine rapes – by inverting the typical address to Minerva expected of a *uirgo*, supplants her implied prayer to Neptune and projected hope for heroic children with an increase in her social prestige. Reading Ovid's rapes through the *Catalogue* highlights this tension between the *uis* of rape and that of the offspring – both as heroes and as semi-divine figures potentially rebellious to Olympian authority, as represented by Minerva and her tapestry. As we shall see, when Ovid uses the *Catalogue* in his account of heroic genealogy, their origins in divine rape are a constant reference point.

SELECTIVE MYTHOGRAPHY: NESTOR'S *GRATIA*

As West's account suggests, studies of the *Catalogue* have settled on the 'traditional' genealogical reading in which rapes of mortal women by gods are not the guiding structuring principle.[52] So while Arachne's catalogue seemed to be an ideal place to look for Ovid's use of the *Catalogue*, for those scholars on the 'false trail', and for the general 'idea' of the genre of the *Catalogue*, the discovery of papyri actually moves us away from the 'amours' of the gods to their progeny, the heroes ('the great genealogies').[53] Therefore, to focus on Arachne's catalogue of divine rapes would seem to miss the point of an intertextual relationship between the *Catalogue* and the *Metamorphoses*. However, my brief analysis of the 'mistake' in the Neptune section of the tapestry not only intimates a potential genealogical structure, projecting genealogical progression through the conflated figures of Tyro and Iphimedeia, but also enacts the valorisation of Arachne herself through the model of divine rape resulting in the birth of heroic offspring.

In this section, I will consider the focus on divine rape and responses to it in the heroic genealogies of the *Metamorphoses*. Like the *Catalogue*, the *Metamorphoses* also moves away from the rapes and on to the progeny of heroes, although this movement keeps the origins of divine rapes as

[51] See also *de plebe* at *Met.* 6.10.
[52] Rutherford 2000: 81–2 reiterates West's statement clearly.
[53] See Schwartz 1960: 289–91.

a point of genealogical reference. Ovid's depiction of heroic genealogy is consciously dependent on responses to its origins in the divine rapes of a previous age.

If the tapestry of Arachne is the starting-point for the reception of the *Catalogue* as once envisaged as structured by divine rapes, where should we look in the *Metamorphoses* for the revised conception of the *Catalogue* as structured by heroic genealogy? One answer could be in the central books of heroic genealogy (Books 8–12) and specifically the figure of Nestor, who persists throughout this section. Ovid's use of the Homeric figure of Nestor as a proponent of 'intergenerational instruction' is based on his own life stretching the heroic age (*Met.* 12.186–8 – *si quem potuit spatiosa senectus|spectatorem operum multorum reddere, uixi|annos bis centum; nunc tertia uiuitur aetas*, 'if lengthy old age could have made anyone witness to my many works, I have lived for two hundred years; now I am living my third age').[54] Given this life span, Nestor is characterised by his vast memory. However, his memory's reliability is called into question on several occasions, the most striking being his failure to remember the date of the marriage of Peleus and Thetis.[55] This failure of memory represents a tradition of uncertainty and manipulation of the chronology of the heroic period in general.[56] The particular example of the marriage of Peleus and Thetis links Nestor's mythographical memory with the motif of theoxeny, as a version of the human/divine relations that mark the 'false trail' of the *Catalogue*'s structure.[57] In general, Nestor supplements his accounts of heroic action and genealogy with references to divine rape, and, specifically, to the *Catalogue*.

It has been noted that the 'heroic' section of the *Metamorphoses* (Books 8–12) contains several stories present in the *Catalogue*;[58] these include not only references to several genealogies but also extended narratives that supplement the basic outline of the *ehoiai*.[59] Furthermore, three of these

[54] For the idea of intergenerational instruction in Nestor's narration, see Musgrove 1998: 225.

[55] *Met.* 12.193–5, on which see Musgrove 1998: 226.

[56] Musgrove 1998: 226 – 'But readers of the *Metamorphoses* know that different literary accounts place the marriage of Peleus and Thetis at different times and that the chronology of this entire period is so vexed that poets from Callimachus and Apollonius to Ennius and Catullus exploit it.'

[57] On theoxeny and the marriage of Peleus and Thetis in the *Catalogue* and Catullus 64, see Pontani 2000.

[58] Perimele (Perimede fr. 10a.34–5) and Mestra (fr. 43a) and Caenis/Caeneus (fr. 87) and Periclymenus (fr. 33a); cf. Schwartz 1960: 602–3.

[59] On the narrative sections of the poem, see Rutherford 2000: 85, who makes the interesting claim that 'even when the *Ehoiai* occasionally strays from the primary structure of a genealogical catalog, it seems to compensate by including secondary allusions to catalog poetry'. If this is so, could

stories focus on divine rapes which all include prayers to the god and the metamorphic gift given in recompense for the rape. Achelous narrates his rape of Perimele in response to Theseus' enquiry as to the origins of the islands within the river (8.590–610). He describes how she was punished for the loss of her virginity by her father, Hippodamas, and thrown from a cliff. Achelous caught her and prayed to Neptune to turn her into an island, which he did.[60] In another narration by Achelous (8.848–854), he tells the story of how Mestra, the daughter of Erysichthon, offers a prayer to Neptune, and with reference to his rape of her she requests to be freed from her overbearing father. Finally, in the narration of Nestor during the Trojan War, he tells of Neptune's rape of Caenis and her request to him to be changed into a man (12.189–209).

These rapes and their prayers and recompense repeat the type of Tyro/Iphimedeia, which have been conflated in Arachne's tapestry, in which the focus on the *uis* of heroic progeny is somehow a compensation for the violent act of rape.[61] However, in the *Metamorphoses*, this aspect is missing, as there is no reference to 'glorious children' as a compensation for divine rape. To some extent, the power of metamorphosis seems to replace this genealogical compensation, as Daphne retains her paradigmatic status. However, if we look more closely at another story in Nestor's narration, and its links with its extended narrative version in the *Catalogue*, there may be a further explanation based on genealogical implications.

Within Nestor's narration, we get the story of the shape-shifter Periclymenus, who is given the gift of metamorphic powers, like Mestra, by Poseidon. This story does not fit into the model of compensated rape, since the gift of metamorphosis seems to have been bestowed, neither as compensation for rape nor in response to a prayer. However, the similarities between the figure of Periclymenus and that of Mestra hint at a revised conception of the progression from divine rape to heroic genealogy. Periclymenus has been generally compared with Mestra.[62] Naturally, the main focus has been

we compare Clauss' account of Hellenistic responses to the proem which incorporate the missing genealogical element?

[60] The *Catalogue* refers to a Perimede, daughter of Aeolus, who married Achelous (fr. 10a.34–5).

[61] According to Murgatroyd 2000 these would be 'recompense' conclusions to an Ovidian rape narrative, although he misses out Mestra. An intriguing parallel in the *Fasti* is the figure of Flora, on which see Sharrock 2002: 106. In the Mestra-*ehoie* there is a focus on her progeny, since she bore Eurypylus to Poseidon (fr. 43a.55–8), while Caenis' story is referred to in the testimonia of fr. 87. Cf. Forbes Irving 1990: 159 on Caenis – 'This is not a particularly Ovidian view of divine rape.'

[62] Schwartz 1960: 601–3. See Ninck 1960: 143–5 on these two characters, and the relationship between their metamorphic powers and water.

on their roles as shape-shifters.[63] In linking the stories of Mestra and Periclymenus in response to Philodemus, that is, on the basis of their shared roles as shape-shifters, Schwartz denies direct influence of the *Catalogue* on Ovid. However, if we read the account of Periclymenus in the *Metamorphoses* in response to the relationship between the model of rape recompensed by progeny in the *Catalogue*, especially that of Mestra, we can see a reason why Ovid may perhaps be alluding to these specific versions, and, as with Arachne, how Ovid uses his narrator's particular agenda to make this link.

In the *Catalogue*, Periclymenus appears as part of the Tyro-*ehoie*. He is the eldest of the twelve sons of Neleus, and he received the gift of metamorphosis from his grandfather, Poseidon (fr. 33a.13–14). In Ovid's account, this genealogical background is explicitly alluded to in relation to the gift of metamorphosis (12.558 – *Neptunus dederat, Nelei sanguinis auctor*). Therefore, given this genealogical focus, one argument could be that the *Catalogue* bridges metamorphic compensation for divine rape and metamorphic powers as a gift offered as a belated genealogical result of the rape. Furthermore, if we look more closely at the Mestra narrative in the *Metamorphoses*, there is a problem with chronology that seems to link her further with Periclymenus. In the *Catalogue*, Mestra seems to have metamorphic powers even before her rape by Poseidon.[64] So, Ovid transforms this version by uniting the rape and the powers of metamorphosis as recompense. This finesses the observation that 'the Hesiodic account may credit Mestra with an earlier gift of metamorphosis from Poseidon, in the unmotivated manner in which it was given to Periklymenos'.[65] Finally, there is another telling link between the Ovidian versions of Mestra and Periclymenus based on the *Catalogue*. In the Hesiodic account, the fate of Mestra's children is briefly described (fr. 43a.55–65):

> καὶ τὴν μέν ῥ' ἐδάμασσε Ποσειδάων ἐνοσίχθων
> τῆλ' ἀπὸ πατρὸς ἑοῖο φέρων ἐπὶ οἴνοπα πόντον
> ἐν Κόωι ἀμφιρύτηι καίπερ πολύιδριν ἐοῦσαν·
> ἔνθα τέκ' Εὐρύπυλον πολέων ἡγήτορα λαῶν
> Κω[. . .]α γείνατο παῖδα βίην ὑπέροπλον ἔχοντα·

[63] Philodemus brings them together in his work *On Piety*, collected as fr. 43c in Merkelbach and West 1967, but shortened to omit Periclymenus in the *OCT*.

[64] Hollis 1970: 129. West 1963: 754.

[65] McKay 1962: 32. Furthermore, the motivation could, as with Periclymenus, have some genealogical basis. Before the appearance of fr. 10a, it was argued that the Mestra episode could have come at the end of the *ehoie* of Canace. However, the emergence of that fragment presumes a progression to the sons of Aeolus. Nevertheless, her links to the daughter of Aeolus – her grandmother – remain genealogically apparent, although not specific to the structure of the *Catalogue*.

τοῦ δ' υἱεῖς Χάλκων τε καὶ Ἀνταγόρης ἐγένοντο.
τῶι δὲ καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὀλίγης Διὸς ἄλκιμος υἱὸς
ἔπραθεν ἱμερόεντα πόλιν, κεράιξε δὲ κώμας
εὐθὺς ἐπεὶ Τροίηθεν ἀνέπλεε νηυσὶ θοῆισι
[. . .] λαιων ἕνεχ' ἵππων Λαομέδοντος·
ἐν Φλέγρηι δ]ὲ Γίγαντας ὑπερφιάλους κατέπεφνε.

Poseidon the Earthshaker tamed her in sea-girt Kos, taking her far away from her father over the wine-dark sea, despite her many wiles. There she bore Eurypylus, leader of many folk . . . she bore a son of exceptional strength. His sons were Chalkon and Antagoras. From a small beginning the valiant son of Zeus (Herakles) ravaged his lovely city and destroyed the villages, when he was returning from Troy . . . because of the horses of Laomedon. [In Phlegra] he killed the overweening Giants . . . .[66]

As with Tyro's offspring, Neleus, Mestra's child, founds a city, only to have it ravaged by Heracles. If we note how Ovid's account of Periclymenus somehow mirrors the tale of Mestra in the *Catalogue*, not only through his metamorphic gift from Neptune, but also in the belated genealogical reasons for this gift, what role does the figure of Hercules as sacker of cities and killer of heroes say about the use of the *Catalogue* in the *Metamorphoses*? Again, the focus of divine rape is central to the problem. Through the story of Caenis, Nestor returns to a previous generation by directly recalling the theme of divine rape.[67] Nestor narrates the story of Caenis/Caeneus as an intergenerational comparison to Cycnus, whom Achilles has just killed at Troy.[68] Caenis' prayer to Neptune recalls the god's speech to Tyro in the *Catalogue* and the *Odyssey*. Moreover, the result of her metamorphosis, not only into a man, but also into an invulnerable hero signposts Arachne's threat in the confusion of Tyro/Iphimedeia and the potential offspring of gods and mortal women producing figures that would destabilise the authority of the Olympian gods. Forbes Irving has pointed out that: 'Kaineus is not a god, but in his magical invulnerability and his relation to Poseidon he closely resembles some of the famous giant enemies of the gods.'[69] Given the links between Caineus and Mestra, and by extension Periclymenus, the threat which the offspring of gods and mortal women pose for the Olympian gods may have been transferred to his metamorphic powers and his ultimate destruction by Hercules. Thus, Hercules' role in sacking cities,

[66] Note that in Medea's flight we see (*Met.* 7. 363–4) *Eurypylique urbem, qua Coae cornua matres*|*gesserunt tum, cum discederet Herculis agmen.*
[67] On this episode and ideas of the male body, see Segal 1998: 23–5.
[68] Compare Aeneas' meeting with Caeneus in the Underworld, on which see McLeod 1991: 18.
[69] Forbes Irving 1990: 161 with n. 47 – 'Most obviously the Aloades'.

and thus threatening heroic dynasties, is often confused with his role in suppressing challenges to the divine order. However, the bias of Nestor's narration underplays the potentially troublesome figure of Periclymenus and Hercules' role in suppressing him on account of his genealogical loyalties. Nevertheless, Nestor himself questions such a conception of *gratia* in his dealings with Hercules' son, Tlepolemus.

In Nestor's narration of the death of Periclymenus, he responds to Tlepolemus' accusation of missing out Hercules' role in the battle of the Lapiths and Centaurs by affirming that he did so because of his sack of Pylos. Nevertheless, in spite of his father's deeds, Nestor ends by stating that his vengeance does not pass to Tlepolemus (12.575–6):

> nec tamen ulterius quam fortia facta silendo
> ulciscor fratres; solida est mihi gratia tecum.

I do not avenge my brothers beyond silencing their acts of bravery; firm is my goodwill towards you.

This allowance for Tlepolemus seems to question Nestor's narrative of intergenerational instruction through *solida . . . gratia*. However, Nestor's *gratia* towards Tlepolemus reflects how the so-called heroic deeds of his father have a lesser life span, owing to his ability to 'forget' them, than the genealogical foundations of the heroic age in divine rape. Thus, the move from Arachne's *labor* to Nestor's *gratia* not only highlights the transition from divine rape to heroic genealogy, but also the valorisation of that genealogy within Nestor's narration of intergenerational instruction, in spite of forgetting Tlepolemus' father's deeds. Nestor's narration enacts an applied genealogy that keeps the gendering of divine rape of mortal women as a reference point to the world of patriarchal heroic epic.

REPETITIVE MYTHOGRAPHY: HERCULES' *LABORES*

'Hercules is not the root of the problem – he is only a symptom.'[70]

Divine rape and recompense in the stories of Caenis and Periclymenus (via Mestra) act as markers for an earlier generation in Nestor's narrative. Furthermore, Hercules' entrance into Nestor's narration in his killing of Periclymenus, which as a deed marks the potential end of the heroic genealogy of the *ehoie* of Tyro in Nestor's *gratia* towards Hercules' son, supports

[70] Wheeler 1999: 137.

the system of heroic genealogical progression, directly through the idea of intergenerational instruction.

However, given Nestor's silence concerning Hercules' deeds, specifically within his general valorisation of heroic genealogy, how does the figure of Hercules negotiate his problematic heroic deeds with his own heroic genealogy? This difficulty must be seen in relation to Hercules' apotheosis and the question of his acts in relation to his genealogy. The apotheosis of Hercules could be further supported by his destructive acts, if his suppression of dangerous semi-divine figures such as Periclymenus is highlighted and not his destruction of a family line, in the eyes of Nestor. This tension within the figure of Hercules is reflected in the variety of approaches to the writing of his life and exploits in the *Catalogue* and the *Metamorphoses*. Hercules both participates in the heroic age and stands outside it, as can be seen by the way in which he disturbs ideas of chronology and genealogy within the heroic period.

In the *Catalogue*, as we might expect, Heracles' exploits at Pylos, the killing of the eleven sons of Neleus, are narrated within a specifically genealogical framework – in the line from Tyro and Poseidon to Nestor's sons. However, for Ovid, while the genealogical is incorporated into his account, one could not say that the episode is structured genealogically. Nevertheless, the continuation of the line up to Nestor's children (fr. 35. 10–15) brings the narrative time directly up to the Trojan War. Furthermore, the focus on the survival of Nestor also points to his role at Troy, expounded in his narration in Book 12 of the *Metamorphoses*. In addition, Nestor's focus on the intergenerational instruction marks Hercules' exploits within a genealogical framework. When the survivor Nestor narrates Hercules' exploits at the beginning of the Trojan War, there is a specific conflation of two motifs – the recurrent figure of Hercules and the event of the Trojan War – both of which have been read as markers of chronological disruption in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.[71] So, to some extent, the replacement narration of the fall of Pylos acts as the anachronism of Hercules at Troy, set up by the ideas of Caeneus supplanted by Cycnus. In a nutshell, we could ask how chronology impinges on the structure of the *Catalogue* as much as genealogy on the *perpetuum carmen* of the *Metamorphoses*, as we have been assessing in the tapestry of Arachne and the narration of Nestor.

It has been pointed out that, while the *Catalogue* moves chronologically from Deucalion to the Trojan War, the end-point is constantly evoked 'as

[71] See Wheeler 1999: 138–9.

the culmination of the whole process of marriages and births of heroes.'[72] Furthermore, the figure of Heracles, who appears throughout the poem, also operates as a motif akin to the event of the Trojan War.[73] The reappearance of Heracles as a sacker of cities (literally) disturbs the genealogical narrative as much as the projected *telos* of the Trojan War disrupts the chronological narrative.

Nestor's narration of Hercules' destruction of Pylos has been read as part of an intricate anachronistic depiction of Hercules throughout the *Metamorphoses*.[74] Furthermore, this anachronistic portrayal of Hercules could be seen to have a precedent in the Hesiodic *Catalogue*.[75] The relationship between the *Catalogue* and the *Metamorphoses* has been vital to the recent move to finesse the chronological structuring principles of the latter with the genealogical thrust of the former.[76] As we have seen in Nestor's narration, grafting the *Catalogue* onto the intertextual programme of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* moves his narrative dynamics away from chronology towards genealogy. This focus on genealogically guided principles of arrangement could have been based on the model of '*Theogony* plus *Catalogue*' mediated through the text of the *Library*. However, this mediating text offers a strictly genealogical account of the fall of Pylos, far removed from the Trojan War context of Ovid's account. We can compare the two accounts of the sack of Pylos in [Apollodorus]: 1.9.9 and 2.7.3 – the former as part of a strictly genealogical narrative, while the latter is part of the theme of the exploits of Heracles. The Hesiodic text is sensitive to the problem of reconciling the figure of Heracles and his exploits with the genealogical thrust of its narrative.

Therefore, as with Arachne and Nestor, Hercules offers an explicit account of the function of genealogy in the *Metamorphoses*. Just as Hercules acts as a bridge between two structural features of the *Metamorphoses* – chronology and genealogy – his apotheosis repeats his origins in divine rape. If Arachne's catalogue and Nestor's speech both respond to the potential for heroic genealogy in divine rape and divine rape as a reference point for later heroic genealogy, how does Hercules' multiple role as hero, sacker of cities and apotheosised god disrupt the genealogical schema outlined in the *Catalogue*? In short, if heroic genealogy is authorised by a former age

[72] Thalmann 1984: 74.
[73] Thalmann 1984: 209 n. 120 – 'Note also how the poem keeps recurring to Heracles, who provides a motif parallel to that of the Trojan War.' See Haubold (this volume).
[74] Wheeler 1999: 135–9. [75] See Haubold (this volume). [76] Farrell (forthcoming).

of divine rape, how does Hercules' destruction of heroic families and later apotheosis relate to his own origins in divine rape?

In both the *Catalogue* and the *Metamorphoses*, Heracles/Hercules' *labores* are juxtaposed with his birth. As Haubold has argued in this volume, in the *Catalogue*, Heracles' life is narrated backwards, with fr. 190 and fr. 195 referring to his *labores* and birth respectively. In the *Metamorphoses*, one could not argue that Hercules' life is narrated backwards, although the episodes of his *labores*, death, apotheosis and birth are all juxtaposed.[77] The correspondence between Hercules' heroic *labores* and the *labor* of Alcmene is made explicit in Ovid's text, and has been read as a 'deheroisation' of Hercules' *labores*.[78] However, the way in which Hercules' apotheosis is described focuses considerably on his origins in divine rape. Ovid refers to how Hercules' deification amounted to him keeping his 'better part' (*parte . . . meliore* – 9.269), which was his divine inheritance from his father, Jupiter (*tantumque Iouis uestigia seruat* – 9.265). Thus, this return to Hercules' origins in divine rape does, in a specific sense, act as a 'deheroisation', since it is markedly not his heroic *labores* that cause his apotheosis, but his heroic genealogy – Alcmene's *labor*.

However, if we read this juxtaposition through the *Catalogue*, we can see how vital it is to link divine birth with immortality for the prospect of heroic genealogy.[79] In the *Metamorphoses*, the first act of Hercules the god is to order the sexual union of Iole and his son Hyllus (*Herculis . . . |imperiis* – 9.278–9). It is Iole's situation that pre-empts Alcmene's narrative of her own labour, for the reason that she has been impregnated by a descendant of a god (the deified Hercules). Alcmene's narration to Iole resides somewhere between Arachne's catalogue of divine rapes and Nestor's narrative of intergenerational instruction for the generation of heroes. In recounting the birth of Hercules and its divine context to a woman pregnant with a god's grandchild, Ovid reflects the repetitive, cyclical nature of the heroic age.

HERCULES' ROME

neque enim de Caesaris actis
ullum maius opus quam quod pater exstitit huius
Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 15.750–1

[77] Wheeler 1999: 136 – 'Hercules' death and apotheosis (the ultimate labor) comes before the sexual politics and childbirth which are its cause.' Cf. also Segal 1998: 28.

[78] Galinsky 1972a: 104 – 'the mere juxtaposition of the story of Hercules' apotheosis with that of his birth deheroizes and undercuts any remaining epic and serious aspirations inherent in the former'.

[79] On immortality in the *Catalogue*, see Rutherford 2000: 86–7.

and there is no work among all the acts of Caesar that is greater than being the father of [Augustus].

Ovid's approach to the themes of divine rape and heroic genealogy in the *Catalogue* has wide implications for ideas of dynasty and succession in the Augustan imperial *domus*.[80] Arachne's tapestry and Nestor's narration could offer differing perspectives on the primacy of the genealogical in a dynastic ruling class. Arachne's skill, in her hinting at the heroic genealogies originating in the divine rapes that she depicts in her tapestry, acts as an attempt to overcome her own social status, while Nestor's selectivity in his narrative of intergenerational instruction privileges heroic continuity over heroic deed, as shown by his *gratia* to Tlepolemus.[81] However, within this approach to the *Catalogue*, Ovid expands on the problems that the figure of apotheosis causes to this genealogical schema. The image of Hercules in the Augustan context of the *Metamorphoses* is directly complicated by the issue of his apotheosis as a repetitive feature in Roman imperial history. His sack of Pylos and Cos in the *Catalogue*, as conflated into the one episode in the *Metamorphoses*, through the affinities of Mestra and Periclymenus, represent an anti-heroic vision of Heracles seemingly at odds with the Augustan figure mapped out in Virgil, Propertius and Horace.[82] However, as Nestor's *gratia* to Tlepolemus shows, Hercules' destructive deeds do not affect his dynasty. Ovid's focus on Hercules' apotheosis acts as a direct extension of his birth through divine rape and not a result of the *labores* listed by the dying hero. Furthermore, in his presentation of the divine orders to Iole, Ovid utilises the pedigree of the Hesiodic Heracles to suggest how apotheosis changes the system of divine rape and heroic genealogy by offering the potential for its cyclical continuation into an Augustan heroic age, rather than its destruction in the Trojan War. However, within the genealogical system of imperial succession, contrary to Virgil's Aeneas, there is a question mark as to which manifestation of the Hesiodic and Ovidian Hercules any future emperor will be.

These implications mean that reading a relationship between Hesiod's *Catalogue of Women* and Ovid's *Metamorphoses* not only challenges

[80] These implications can only be sketched here. However, I hope that the relationship between the *Catalogue* and the *Metamorphoses* can inspire more nuanced political readings than my limited survey has been able to offer.

[81] These figures could be schematically mapped onto a Republican ideology of the negotiation of birth with accumulated prestige – Arachne the productive *nouus homo* against Nestor the patrician.

[82] On the use of Hercules as Augustan saviour, see Galinsky 1972a and 1972b. On the problematic figure, see Spencer 2001.

intertextualist method, generic markers and gender politics in modern classical scholarship, but also enacts the interweaving of ideas of divine rape, heroic generation and apotheosis in the translation of Greek myth into Augustan Roman ideology.[83]

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